

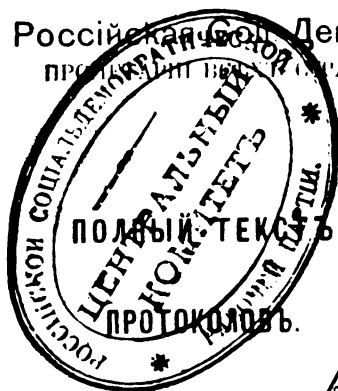
# 1903



SECOND CONGRESS OF THE  
RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC  
LABOUR PARTY

**MINUTES OF THE SECOND CONGRESS  
OF THE RSDLP**

Россійская Соц. Дем. Рабочая Партія  
ПРОГЛАШАЕТЪ ВСЕХЪ РАБОЧИХЪ СОЕДИНЯТЬСЯ



**Второй очередной съездъ**  
Росс. Соц.-Дем. Рабочей Партіи.



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**RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY  
WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!**

***1903***

**SECOND ORDINARY CONGRESS  
OF THE RSDLP**

**COMPLETE TEXT OF THE MINUTES**

**Translated and annotated by  
BRIAN PEARCE**

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Joined the Workers International League early 1939 and remained an active Trotskyist all his life.

He was a founder member of the Revolutionary Communist Party 1944, a founding member of the Socialist Labour League 1959 and a founding member of the Workers Revolutionary Party 1973.

His dedicated labours throughout nearly four decades made the publication of this volume containing the minutes of the Second Congress of the RSDLP possible.



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## Foreword

It is a remarkable fact that the minutes of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, held in 1903, have never before been published in English. At first sight that might not seem remarkable: why should readers be interested in the proceedings of a small political organisation held so long ago? There are two main reasons. The first, and least important, is an historical one. As will be explained, this Congress came to assume an almost legendary role. It has frequently been misinterpreted and its sense distorted by anti-Marxist writers. English speaking students now have an opportunity of finding out for themselves what actually went on and checking up on some of the more fantastic accounts which have hitherto passed as accurate. The second, and more important, however, concerns current political tasks. The Congress proved to be a turning point in the development of the Marxist movement not only in Russia but also internationally. It is therefore part of the history of the revolutionary party in Britain. It was the dividing of the ways between principled Marxism and opportunism, prefiguring the split in the Second International as a result of the First World War. Therefore what went on at that Congress, and an understanding of the issues involved, contain important lessons for today.

To extract these lessons it is necessary to know more about the background to the Congress and the struggle it witnessed than can be explained in the course of this introduction. To get the best out of a reading of these minutes, Lenin's own analysis, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* should also be studied. In fact, the two works complement each other. In this volume, the different shades of opportunism represented at the Congress expose themselves in their own words. Lenin's famous book analyses fully the whole dialectical development of the divisions which led up to the split between the two trends — the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks.

Writing in the Preface, Lenin emphasised two major outcomes of the Congress. Firstly there was the division of the Party into a majority (the Bolsheviks) and the minority (the Mensheviks), overriding all previous

differences. Secondly there was the controversy over the principles of Party organisation involved in the conflicting proposals for Paragraph 1 of the Rules, his own and that of Martov. Speaking specifically of the minutes now being made available he wrote:

... the truly undeserved neglect of them can only be explained by the fact that our controversies have been cluttered by squabbles, and possibly by the fact that these minutes contain too large an amount of the unpalatable truth. The minutes of the Party Congress present a picture of the actual state of affairs in our Party, that is unique of its kind and unparalleled for its accuracy, completeness, comprehensiveness, richness and authenticity; a picture of views, sentiments and plans drawn up by participants in the movement themselves; a picture of the shades existing in the Party, showing their relative strength, their mutual relations and their struggles. It is the minutes of the Party Congress, and they alone, that show how far we have really succeeded in making a clean sweep of the survivals of the old, purely circle ties and substituting for them a single great party tie. It is the duty of every Party member who wishes to take an intelligent share in the affairs of his Party to make a careful study of our Party Congress. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 207.)

This shows how crucial Lenin thought the Congress had been and undoubtedly there is still much to be said for a study of its proceedings by anyone interested in building the revolutionary party today.

The First Congress of the RSDLP had been held at Minsk in March, 1898, consisting of only nine delegates. In the following years various socialist groups of workers and intellectuals were set up in different parts of the Tsarist Empire and among emigre groups abroad. Political work was carried on in conditions of repression and illegality making the establishment of a national organisation particularly difficult. In practice each group tended to act independently, without very much co-ordination according to the policies of the local leadership. A bad habit of work in small circles was established and this, coupled with the individualistic methods of many of the intellectuals who played an important part in the movement, not only exposed it to the blows of the Tsarist police but also prevented it from giving leadership as the growing working class and other oppressed sections of the population came into sharper collision with the autocracy. The Marxists had to do battle with those who wanted to concentrate on improving wages and social reforms, the so-called 'economist' tendency. Although this had been largely defeated by the time that the Second Congress met it still had its spokesmen. But the major question was how to organise a revolutionary party and sink roots in the working class. It was to this task that Lenin had addressed himself in *What Is To Be Done?*, where he called for the establishment of a strong, centralised and disciplined party organised by 'professional revolutionaries'. This was a challenge to the old-style revolutionaries with their individualistic and anarchistic leanings as well as those who wanted a broad, 'democratic' party adapted to activities in a parliament of the West European kind.

The question of what sort of party therefore loomed over the Second Congress. Lenin at this time was the main animator of the Marxist journal *Iskra*, published abroad and smuggled into Russia, the main organiser of the

Social-Democratic groups. However, the Iskra-ites were by no means homogeneous. Besides representatives of the older generation, like Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich, it also was supported by future Mensheviks who later carried off the title of the journal and were to take Plekhanov & Co. with them.

However, there is little doubt that Lenin and *Iskra* were the driving force for a new Congress whose task would be virtually to found the party anew, decide on its programme and its structure. Something had to be done to draw the different local groups together and to settle the ever-sharpening differences between the various political tendencies in the movement. The Second Congress was thus the outcome of a fight. In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin had made his position clear and no one who read it could doubt what the Congress would be about; those who were not clear would have it spelt out again when the Congress met.

The need for a new Congress was widely recognised. A meeting calling itself a 'Congress' was held at Byelostok in March, 1902, but it was able to do no more than set up an Organising Committee of three to prepare a Congress. Two members of this committee were soon arrested and another conference was held at Pskov in November of the same year. Here another Organising Committee was elected, dominated by Iskra-ites, and it set about drawing up a party programme and making preparations for the Second Congress. The first draft of the programme was drawn up by Plekhanov, the senior figure among Russian Marxists, but it failed to satisfy either Lenin or Martov, the future Menshevik leader, as being unsuitable. Plekhanov, under protest, revised his draft and this was taken as a basis for the Congress. In retrospect the differences over the programme assumed greater importance than they may have appeared to have at the time. They concerned nothing less than the nature of the coming revolution in Russia and thus the tactics and the strategy of the party. While there could be some agreement on the general points in the programme and on the tactics to be applied in the current struggle against the autocracy the area of difference was soon to be revealed as very wide indeed.

The first sessions of the Congress were held in Brussels from July 30, 1903. After about a week the attention of the Belgian police forced the delegates to seek another meeting place and one was found in London where the Congress continued until August 23.

The proceedings of the Congress opened with the report from the Organising Committee regarding those organisations which had been invited or had not been recognised. It went on to consider standing orders and the questions to be discussed and it was decided that the position in the party of the Bund, i.e. the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia founded in 1897 and represented at the First Congress, should top the agenda. Lenin argued in favour of this on the grounds that other questions could not be considered until the Bund's claim to a radical change in its position in the Party had been dealt with. While it already had autonomy, its representatives demanded that it should represent the Jewish proletariat as a whole and be only federally attached to the Party. As speakers pointed out, this was a



nationalist demand which could quite well be taken up by other nationalities in the Russian Empire represented in the Party by local organisations.

The debate on the Bund was particularly impassioned as well as witnessing some tortuous exercises in casuistry on the part of its advocates. It was evident that its claims to exclusive representation of the Jewish proletariat had little support and when the final vote was taken on its proposals at the 27th session its five representatives were alone in voting for them. It thereupon decided to withdraw from the RSDLP and to leave the Congress. As its weight had been thrown onto the side of the opportunists (Martov & Co.), the departure of the Bund left Lenin and his supporters in the majority.

However, between the first and final debate on the Bund other important questions were voted on and decided in favour of the opportunist wing. This was particularly the case on the question of Paragraph 1 of the Rules. Two proposals were before the Congress. Lenin's resolution ran: 'A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts its programme and supports the Party both financially and by personal participation in one of the Party organisations.' Martov's proposal ran: 'A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts its programme, supports the Party financially and renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organisations.'

Considered textually the differences may appear to be small. They derived their significance from the arguments put forward in their defence at the Congress which brought out all the sharpness of the difference between the future Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The speeches made by Martov and his supporters in showing just how broad they were prepared to make the concept of party membership and how amorphous such a party would be are particularly revealing when studied in their entirety. It is evident that much more lay behind this difference than one of terminology or even of party membership as such; it was the whole nature of the party and whether or not it was to be geared to revolutionary tasks which was at stake, whether or not Martov (and even Trotsky who also disagreed with Lenin) were aware of it or not. This was really the nub of the Congress and, remember, Lenin was outvoted on Paragraph 1. The Second Congress, while achieving the unification of the Party and providing the potential for overcoming the circle existence of the groups in Russia and abroad also witnessed a split on lines which had not existed, or had not been clear, before. This new difference between the majority (Bolsheviks) and minority (Mensheviks) was to dominate the subsequent history of the Party.

A further sharpening up of the conflict in the Congress came over the elections to the Party's leading bodies, including the editorial board of *Iskra*. As readers will note, the debates were impassioned and at times stormy, so crucial were the issues at stake, in particular the question of centralised leadership for which Lenin fought. His opponents tried to bring the debate down to a personal level. This was particularly the case with Martov (the most prominent figure among the Mensheviks in subsequent years) who declared that he would not take up the post on the *Iskra* editorial board to which he had been elected because the Congress had failed to endorse all six former mem-

bers. He raised the cry of 'a state of siege' in the Party as soon as he found himself in a minority. When Lenin replied he was subject to a barrage of interruptions, but he accepted that there was 'a state of siege' in the Party if that meant a struggle against 'unstable and vacillating elements' and 'political diffuseness'. Lenin and his supporters had fought for the Congress precisely to remove these sources of weakness which had been hampering the work of the Party. Lenin's victory on the question of the *Iskra* editorial board was the actual source of the subsequent split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; it represented a victory for the party standpoint against sentimentality regarding old party members and individualism as represented by Martov and his friends.

It should be noted that on various questions discussed at the Congress Trotsky was in opposition to Lenin and voted more often with the other side. His contributions were interesting but lacked a stable political position. Plekhanov, with his great reputation as the father of Russian Marxism, backed Lenin throughout the Congress but was to change sides later and join the Mensheviks. The loquacious Akimov, who stood on the right wing of the Congress, was constantly jumping up with his personal observations, blurting out the most opportunist points which could only embarrass Martov & Co. He left the Congress and little is known about what happened to him subsequently.

Summing up the work of the Congress Lenin later wrote in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*:

Our Party Congress was unique and unprecedented in the entire history of the Russian revolutionary movement. For the first time a secret revolutionary party succeeded in emerging from the darkness of the underground life into broad daylight, showing everyone the whole course and outcome of our internal Party struggle, the whole character of our Party and of each of its more or less noticeable components in matters of programme, tactics and organisation. For the first time we succeeded in throwing off the traditions of circle looseness and revolutionary philistinism, in bringing together dozens of very different groups, many of which had been linked solely by the force of an idea, and which were now prepared (in principle, that is) to sacrifice all their group aloofness and group independence for the sake of the great whole which we for the first time are actually creating — the *Party*. But in politics sacrifices are not obtained gratis, they have to be won in battle. The battle over the slaughter of organisations necessarily proved terribly fierce. The fresh breeze of free and open struggle blew into a gale. The gale swept away — and a very good thing it did! — each and every remnant of all circle interests, sentiments, and traditions without exception, and for the first time created genuinely Party institutions. (*Collected Works*, Volume 7, pp. 412-413.)

The Congress and its decisions did not resolve the party crisis or end the struggle. On the contrary, nothing had been settled; the struggle continued. The opportunists fought back and with Plekhanov's support were able to take control of *Iskra*. Lenin and his supporters went ahead with the setting up of their own party committees and called for the convening of a Third Congress ('Declaration of the nineteen', October 1904). Lenin saw the difficulties following the Second Congress as growing pains. He called upon all trends to

express their views but to accept majority decisions of the Congress. Guarantees were to be provided by the Party Rules for the minority to express its opinions and to have them published. As it turned out the minority was unable to accept this concept of Party unity based upon democratic centralism; it preferred the old circle mentality and was preparing itself for a further drift into opportunism in distinguishing itself with the adoption of the 'two stage theory' of the coming revolution in Russia. Lenin was fighting for an instrument able to make a revolution; the Mensheviks saw a long period of stable bourgeois democracy as the first stage, and for that a disciplined, centralised party was not required in their opinion.

We may add that Trotsky soon differentiated himself from the Mensheviks on the nature of the Russian revolution, developing the theory of the 'permanent revolution', which differed also from Lenin's conception of 'the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry'. But the kind of revolution Trotsky envisaged could not be won without Lenin's type of party; this he did not learn until 1917. Once having learned it, as Lenin himself said, 'there was no better Bolshevik'. When at the height of the struggle against the Left Opposition, in 1926, the Stalinists brought up these past differences, Trotsky said:

I have stated more than once, as is well known to all old party members, that on many most important questions I at one time fought against Lenin and the Bolshevik party, but I was not a Menshevik. If by Menshevism is understood a political class line — and that is the only way to understand it — then I was never a Menshevik. I broke organisationally and politically with what was to become Menshevism in the middle of 1904, i.e. from the moment when it began to take shape as a political tendency. I broke on the question of the attitude towards the liberal bourgeoisie, with the publication of Vera Zasulich's article, and the article by Akselrod in which he presented his plan of supporting the Zemstvo liberals, etc. On the question of the role of the classes in the revolution I was never in agreement with Menshevism. And this was the fundamental question. (*The Stalin School of Falsification*, New Park Publications, pp. 118-119.)

The present volume will be an invaluable addition to the literature of revolutionary Marxism in the English-speaking countries. No ready-made answers to present-day problems of party building can, of course, be derived from a reading of the proceedings of the Second Congress of the RSDLP. This party proved to be the first one to achieve power and that was due decisively to the quality of its leadership and the nature of the preparation that it had made, under the guidance of Lenin, for the taking of power. This Congress was a stage, but a very crucial one, in that preparation. As Lenin himself showed, the struggle at the Congress proceeded by a dialectic of its own and no Congress has been more fully analysed. Many historians and commentators deliberately distort its nature or misunderstand its significance. The reader will have to judge for himself in the light of subsequent developments; for our part there can be no doubt that Lenin was fully justified in taking the stand that he did. Since 1903 the socialist movement has seen innumerable congresses and conferences but few, perhaps none, have been more significant. That

is why it is deserving of study, not only by historians concerned with setting the record straight, but even more by those involved in the building of the revolutionary party. In a very real sense the essential questions dealt with have come up many times before, and will do so again. This book can therefore play a role in the arming of the revolutionary party for the struggles now ahead, which require the defeat of the present-day Mensheviks.

*T.K.*

## A Note on the Text

These minutes have all the defects mentioned by Lenin in *One Step Forward* and some others as well. The Russian text contains a great many misprints and some obvious errors due to mis-hearing of what delegates said. Often, a passage in a delegate's speech to which reference is made subsequently is not to be found in the report of the speech in question.

For reasons of security, presumably, the speeches of the women delegates, and references to these delegates by other speakers, are given in such a way that the difference of sex does not appear — 'he' for 'she', 'his' for 'her', and so on — and this has not been altered in the translation.

Some important interjections, asides and the like are not reported in the minutes, and, of course, what went on in the intervals and, in general, behind the scenes (caucus meetings, etc.) does not appear. Accounts of the Congress which draw upon memoirs by participants and give a more three-dimensional and detailed picture than can be got from the minutes include (besides those written by Lenin, Krupskaya and Trotsky themselves): S.H. Baron, *Plekhanov*, pp. 231 f; B.D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made A Revolution*, pp. 230 f; I. Getzler, *Martov*, pp. 66f; L.H. Haimson, *The Russian Marxists*, pp. 165f; J.L.H. Keep, *The Rise of Social-Democracy*, pp. 107f. N. Valentinov's *Encounters With Lenin* includes impressions of some of the congress personalities — Akimov, Martynov, Krasikov, etc. — and describes Lenin at the time when he wrote *One Step Forward*.

To aid the reader in following Lenin's references to the minutes in *One Step Forward*, a page concordance is provided following the appendixes (p. 517).

B.P.

## From the Commission

In publishing the minutes of the second congress of the RSDLP, the commission elected by the congress considers it necessary to preface its work with the following explanatory notes.

First of all, about the material with which we had to work. No shorthand report of the congress was taken, but the speeches and the whole course of the debates were recorded by the duty secretaries, whom the speakers helped by providing them with summaries of their more important speeches. Subsequently, the minutes compiled were read to the congress and approved by it. Only the minutes of the two last sessions (36 and 37) remained unapproved, owing to lack of time.

Thus, the commission had at its disposal material which had already been approved by the congress. What remained was to put this into suitable form for publication and to edit it. The initial work of getting the material in order was done by Comrade Koltsov, and then the commission as a whole examined and approved the text to be handed over to the printer.

The commission did not make use of the right which had been given to it to refrain from publishing certain parts of the minutes; or, more precisely the commission used this right to a quite insignificant extent, and only in so far as this was absolutely necessitated by considerations of *security*.

The commission was also guided by these considerations in substituting other names for some of the 'conspiratorial names' under which certain delegates figured at the congress. In all other respects it has kept strictly to the text which was approved by the congress, making only stylistic corrections.

The commission has not published here the reports delivered by the

delegates to the congress. These were not directly connected with the activity of the congress, there were no debates concerning them, and so they can conveniently be published separately. Only one out of all these reports, that of the Bund, gave rise to a certain amount of discussion at the Congress. Unfortunately, however, the commission has had to refrain from reproducing these discussions because the minutes do not contain the speech by the delegate of the Bund, replying to the questions that were put to him.

Finally, the commission has added to the minutes, as appendices, a few (eleven) documents which, in one way or another, supplement and clarify the work of the congress and the decisions adopted by it.

*Gorin*  
*Koltsov*  
*Starover*

# Programme of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party

*adopted at the Second Congress of the Party*

The development of exchange has established such close ties between all the peoples of the civilised world that the great liberation movement of the proletariat has had to become, and has in fact long since become, international in character.

Regarding themselves as forming one of the detachments of the world-wide army of the proletariat, the Russian Social-Democrats pursue the same ultimate aim as that towards which the Social-Democrats of all other countries are striving.

This ultimate aim is determined by the nature of present-day bourgeois society and the way it is developing.

The principal characteristic of this society is commodity production on the basis of capitalist production-relations, in which the most considerable and important part of the means of production and exchange of commodities belongs to a numerically small class of persons, while the overwhelming majority of the population consists of proletarians and semi-proletarians, who are obliged by their economic situation either continuously or periodically to sell their labour-power, that is, to become wage-workers for the capitalists and to create, by their labour, profit for the higher classes of society.

The sphere in which capitalist production-relations prevail is spreading ever wider and wider, in proportion as the constant improvement in technique, increasing the economic weight of large-scale enterprises, results in the squeezing out of small, independent producers, transforming some of these into proletarians, narrowing the role of the remainder in social and economic life, and in places subjecting them to more or less complete, more or less obvious and more or less severe dependence upon capital.



This same technical progress also enables the entrepreneurs to make use to an ever greater extent of female and child labour in the process of producing and circulating commodities. And since, on the other hand, it leads to a relative contraction in the entrepreneurs' demand for living human labour, the demand for labour power inevitably lags behind the supply, as a result of which the dependence of wage-labour upon capital increases and the degree to which it is exploited becomes greater.

This state of affairs in the bourgeois countries, and the mutual rivalry between these countries on the world market, which grows continually more intense, make it even more difficult to find outlets for the goods which are produced in constantly increasing quantities. Over-production, manifested in more or less acute industrial crises, which are followed by more or less prolonged periods of industrial stagnation, constitute an inevitable consequence of the development of the productive forces in bourgeois society. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation in their turn ruin the small producers still further, increase even more the dependence of wage-labour upon capital, and lead more rapidly to a relative (and sometimes also an absolute) worsening of the position of the working class.

Thus, improvement in technique, which means increased productivity of labour and growth in social wealth, results, in bourgeois society, in greater social inequality, a widening of the gap between the haves and the have-nots, and an increase in the precariousness of existence, in unemployment, and in many kinds of deprivation for ever-wider sections of the working masses.

But as all these contradictions, which are inherent in bourgeois society, grow and develop, so also grows the discontent of the working people and the exploited masses with the prevailing order of things, the numbers and cohesion of the proletariat increase, and the struggle between the proletariat and their exploiters intensifies. At the same time, the improvement in technique, concentrating the means of production and exchange and socialising the process of labour in capitalist enterprises, is creating at ever greater speed the material conditions for replacing capitalist production relations with socialist ones — that is, for the social revolution which is the ultimate aim of all the activity of the international Social-Democratic movement, as the conscious expression of the class movement of the proletariat.

By substituting social for private ownership of the means of production and exchange, and introducing planned organisation of the pro-

cess of social production, in order to ensure the well-being and all-round development of all members of society, the social revolution of the proletariat will abolish the division of society into classes, and thereby free all oppressed mankind, since it will put an end to every form of exploitation of one part of society by another.

A necessary condition for this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, conquest by the proletariat of such political power as will enable it to suppress any resistance by the exploiters.

Setting itself the task of rendering the proletariat able to fulfil its great historical mission, the international Social-Democratic movement organises the proletariat into an independent political party, opposed to all the bourgeois parties, guides all the manifestations of its class struggle, exposes before it the irreconcilable contradiction of interests between exploiters and exploited, and explains to it the historical significance of, and the necessary pre-conditions for, the impending social revolution. At the same time it reveals to all the rest of the working and exploited masses the hopelessness of their position in capitalist society and the necessity of social revolution for the sake of their own liberation from the yoke of capital. The party of the working class, the Social-Democratic Party, summons to its ranks all sections of the working and exploited population, in so far as they go over to the point of view of the proletariat.

On the way to achieving their common ultimate aim, which is conditioned by the dominance of the capitalist mode of production throughout the civilised world, the Social-Democrats of the different countries are obliged to undertake different immediate tasks, both because this mode of production has not developed everywhere to the same degree and because its development in the different countries is coming to fruition under a variety of socio-political circumstances.

In Russia, where capitalism has already become the dominant mode of production, there are still very many survivals from the old pre-capitalist order, which was based on the enslavement of the working masses by the landlords, the state or the sovereign. Hindering economic progress to a very considerable extent, these survivals inhibit an all-round development of the class struggle of the proletariat, and contribute to the maintenance and consolidation of the most barbarous forms of exploitation of the many millions of peasants by the state and the property-owning classes, and to keeping the entire people in ignorance and deprived of rights.

The most important of all these survivals and the mightiest bulwark

of all this barbarism is the Tsarist autocracy. By its very nature it is inimical to all social progress and cannot but be the most malevolent enemy of all the proletariat's strivings for freedom.

Therefore, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party takes as its most immediate political task the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic, the constitution of which would ensure:

1. Sovereignty of the people — that is, concentration of supreme state power wholly in the hands of a legislative assembly consisting of representatives of the people and forming a single chamber.

2. Universal, equal and direct suffrage, in elections both to the legislative assembly and to all local organs of self-government, for all citizens and citizenesses who have attained the age of 20; secret ballot at elections; the right of every voter to be elected to any representative body; biennial parliaments; payment of the people's representatives.

3. Extensive local self-government; regional self-government for all localities which are distinguished by special conditions in respect of mode of life and make-up of the population.

4. Inviolability of person and domicile.

5. Unrestricted freedom of conscience, speech, publication and assembly, freedom to strike and freedom of association.

6. Freedom to travel and to engage in any occupation.

7. Abolition of social estates, and complete equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, religion, race and nationality.

8. Right of the population to receive education in their native language, to be ensured by provision of the schools needed for this purpose, at the expense of the state and the organs of self-government; the right of every citizen to express himself at meetings in his own language; use of the native language on an equal basis with the state language in all local, public and state institutions.

9. Right of self-determination for all nations included within the bounds of the state.

10. Right of any person to prosecute any official before a jury, through the usual channels.

11. Judges to be elected by the people.

12. Replacement of the standing army by universal arming of the people.

13. Separation of the church from the state and of the school from the church.

14. Free and compulsory general and vocational education for all children, of both sexes, up to the age of 16; poor children to be supplied with meals, clothing and textbooks at state expense.

As a fundamental condition for the democratisation of our state finances, the RSDLP calls for *abolition of all indirect taxes and establishment of a progressive tax on income and inheritance.*

In the interests of safeguarding the working class from physical and moral degradation, and also in order to develop its capacity for the struggle for freedom, the Party calls for:

1. Limitation of the working day to eight hours in every 24, for all wage-workers.

2. Legal provision of a weekly rest period, to last continuously for not less than 42 hours, for wage-workers of both sexes, in all branches of the economy.

3. A complete ban on overtime work.

4. Prohibition of night work (between 9 pm and 6 am) in all branches of the economy, with the exception of those in which it is absolutely necessary owing to technical factors which are endorsed by the workers' organisations.

5. Employers to be forbidden to utilise the labour of children of school age (up to 16), and limitation of the working day for adolescents (16-18) to six hours.

6. Prohibition of female labour in all branches in which it is harmful to the female organism; women to be given leave from work for four weeks before childbirth and six weeks after it, with payment of wages at the usual rate throughout this period.

7. Construction in connection with all factories and other enterprises where women work of crèches for infants and young children; release from work of women who are feeding their babies, at intervals of not more than three hours, for periods of not less than half an hour.

8. State insurance of workers against old age and against complete or partial loss of capacity to work, financed from a special fund to be raised by a special tax on the capitalists.

9. Prohibition of payment of wages in kind; payment of wages on a weekly basis and in cash to be laid down in all agreements for the hiring of workers, without exception; wages to be paid out during working hours.

10. Employers to be forbidden to make deductions from wages for any reason and regardless of the purpose (fines, defective work, etc.)

11. Appointment of an adequate number of factory inspectors in all branches of the economy, and extension of the scope of supervision by factory inspectors to all enterprises employing wage labour, including government enterprises (the work of domestic servants also to be subject to this supervision); appointment of women inspectors for those branches in which female labour is employed; participation by elected representatives of the workers, paid by the state, in checking on the enforcement of factory legislation, and also in establishing wage-rates and in the accepting or rejecting of material and of work done.

12. Supervision by the organs of local self-government, with participation by elected representatives of the workers, of the sanitary condition of the dwellings assigned to workers by their employers, together with the internal arrangements of these buildings and the terms on which they are let—with a view to safeguarding the wage-workers from interference by the employers in their lives and activities as private persons and citizens.

13. Establishment of properly-organised health inspection in all enterprises employing hired labour, the entire medico-sanitary organisation to be wholly independent of the employers; free medical aid for workers at the employers' expense, with continuance of pay during illness.

14. Violation by employers of laws for the protection of labour to be made a criminal offence.

15. Establishment in all branches of the economy of industrial tribunals, composed of an equal number of representatives of the workers and of the employers.

16. The organs of local self-government to be made responsible for setting up offices (labour exchanges) to arrange for the employment of workers, both local and newly-arrived, in all branches of production, with participation in the running of these offices by representatives of the workers' organisations.

In order to eliminate the survivals of serfdom which weigh as a heavy burden directly upon the peasants, and in the interests of free development of the class struggle in the countryside, the Party demands, first and foremost:

1. Cancellation of redemption and quit-rent payments, and also of every form of obligation now imposed upon the peasantry as a tax-paying estate.

2. Repeal of all laws which restrict the peasants' freedom to dispose of their land.

3. Return to the peasants of the sums of money extorted from them as redemption and quit-rent payments; confiscation, for this purpose, of monastery and church property and also of appanage and crown lands and those belonging to members of the imperial family; imposition of a special tax on the estates of members of the landowning nobility who have benefited from redemption loans: the money raised in this way to be paid into a public fund for the cultural and welfare needs of the rural communities.

4. Establishment of peasants' committees: (a) for restoration to the rural communities (by expropriation or, in cases where the land has changed ownership, through purchase by the state at the expense of the large estates of the nobility) of the lands which were cut off and withheld from the peasants when serfdom was abolished and which now serve the landlords as a means of keeping the peasants in bondage; (b) for handing over to ownership by the peasants in Caucasia those lands which they have been working as temporary bondsmen, *khizani* and so on; (c) for doing away with the survivals of serfdom relations which are still intact in the Urals, in the Altai, in the Western Territory and in other parts of the country.

5. Granting to the courts of the right to reduce excessively high rents and to declare null and void all transactions involving servitude.

In striving to achieve its immediate aims, the RSDLP supports every oppositional and revolutionary movement directed against the social and political order prevailing in Russia, while at the same time resolutely rejecting all reform proposals which are connected with any sort of extension or strengthening of tutelage by the police and officialdom over the labouring classes.

For its part, the RSDLP is firmly convinced that complete, consistent and lasting realisation of the political and social changes mentioned is attainable only *through overthrow of the autocracy* and the convocation of *a constituent assembly*, freely elected by the entire people.

## Organisational Rules

### *of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party adopted at the Party's second Congress*

*Resolution.* The Party's general rules are binding on all sections of the Party. Exceptions are defined in special appendices to the rules.

#### *Rules*

1. A member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is one who accepts the Party's programme, supports the Party financially, and renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organisations.

2. The supreme organ of the Party is the Party Congress. It is convened (if possible, not less often than once every two years) by the Party Council. The Party Council must call a congress if this is demanded by Party organisations which together would command half the votes at the congress. A Congress is considered valid if at it are represented organisations which together are entitled to more than half of the deciding votes.

3. Entitled to representation at a congress are:

- (a) the Party Council;
- (b) the Central Committee;
- (c) the Central Organ;
- (d) all local committees which do not belong to special associations;
- (e) other organisations which are in this respect on the same footing as committees;
- (f) all associations of committees recognised by the Party. Each of the organisations mentioned is to be represented at a congress by a single delegate, with two votes, and the Party Council by all its members, each with one vote.

The representation of the associations is to be defined by special rules.

*Note 1.* The right to be represented is to be used only by organisations which have been approved not less than one year before the Congress.

*Note 2.* The Central Committee is empowered to invite to attend a congress, with a consultative voice, delegates of organisations which do not fulfil the requirement laid down in Note 1.

4. The Congress appoints the fifth member of the Party Council, the Central Committee, and the editorial board of the Central Organ.

5. The Party Council is appointed by the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee, which send two members each to the Council: arrested members of the Council are to be replaced by the bodies which nominated them; the fifth member is to be replaced by the Council itself.

The Party Council is the highest Party institution. Its task is to reconcile and co-ordinate the activity of the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ, and to represent the Party in dealings with other parties. The Party Council has the right to re-establish the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ in the event that the entire membership of one or other of these bodies are put out of action.

The Council meets whenever this is requested by one of the Party centres, that is, the Central Organ or the Central Committee, or by two members of the Council.

6. The Central Committee organises committees, associations of committees and all other Party institutions, and directs their activities; it organises and conducts undertakings which are of importance for the Party as a whole; it allocates the Party's forces and resources, and has charge of the Party's central treasury; it investigates conflicts both between and within the different Party institutions, and, in general, co-ordinates and directs all the Party's practical activity.

*Note.* Members of the Central Committee cannot be at the same time members of any other Party organisation, except the Party Council.

7. The editorial board of the Central Organ is responsible for the ideological leadership of the Party.



8. All organisations belonging to the Party carry on autonomously all work relating specially and exclusively to the sphere of Party activity which they were set up to deal with.

9. Apart from the organisations established by the Party Congress, all other Party organisations are subject to approval by the Central Committee. All decisions by the Central Committee are binding on all Party organisations, which are also obliged to contribute sums, to be fixed by the Central Committee, to the Party's central treasury.

10. Every Party member, and everyone who has any dealings with the Party, has the right to demand that any statement submitted by him be placed, in the original, before the Central Committee, or the editorial board of the Central Organ, or the Party Congress.

11. Every Party organisation is obliged to supply both to the Central Committee and to the editorial board of the Central Organ all information regarding every aspect of its activity and all its members.

12. All Party organisations and all the corporate bodies of the Party take decisions by simple majority vote, and have the right to co-opt members. For co-opting members and expelling them, a two-thirds majority is needed, unless there is a reasoned objection. Appeal may be made to the Party Council regarding any organisation's decision on co-option or expulsion of members.

Co-option of new members to the Central Committee and to the editorial board of the Central Organ requires a unanimous vote. In cases where co-option to the Central Committee or to the editorial board of the Central Organ is not unanimously approved, the question may be referred to the Party Council, and, in the event of cassation by the Council of the decision taken by the body concerned, is to be finally decided by simple majority vote.

The Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ are to notify each other of newly co-opted members.

13. The League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats abroad, as the sole organisation of the RSDLP outside Russia, has the task of carrying on propaganda and agitation abroad and also of helping the movement in Russia. The League has all the rights possessed by the committees, except that it is to render support to the movement in Russia only through persons and groups specially nominated by the Central Committee.

## **Congress Agenda**

1. Constitution of the congress. Election of Bureau. Establishment of congress standing orders and agenda. Report by the Organising Committee and election of a credentials commission.
2. The place of the Bund in the RSDLP.
3. The party programme.
4. The Party's Central Organ.
5. Delegates' reports.
6. Party organisation.
7. Territorial and national organisations.
8. Particular groups in the Party.
9. The national question.
10. Economic struggle and the trade union movement.
11. Celebration of May Day.
12. The international socialist congress in Amsterdam in 1904.
13. Demonstrations and uprisings.
14. Terror.
15. Internal problems of Party work:
  - (a) organisation of propaganda
  - (b) organisation of agitation
  - (c) organisation of party publications
  - (d) organisation of work among the peasantry
  - (e) organisation of work in the armed forces

- (f) organisation of work among students
- (g) organisation of work among the sectaries

16. Attitude of the RSDLP to the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries'.
17. Attitude of the RSDLP to Russian liberal trends.
18. Election of the Central Committee and of the editorial board of the Central Organ.
19. Election of the Party Council.
20. Procedure for publishing Congress resolutions and minutes, and also for entry into their duties by the functionaries and institutions elected by the Congress.

## Congress Standing Orders

1. The Congress will hold two sessions each day: from 9 am to 1 pm and from 3 pm to 7 pm.
2. No speaker to speak for longer than ten minutes; rapporteurs to be restricted to half an hour (with departures from this rule possible in exceptional cases); and persons introducing reasoned proposals and resolutions to be allowed no more than 20 minutes.
3. No-one to be allowed to speak more than three times on any question: this limitation not to include the rapporteur's opening speech.
4. On questions relating to procedure in a session, no more than two speakers to be allowed 'for' and two 'against' the motion.
5. The Congress minutes to be compiled by the secretaries with help from the Bureau. Each session to begin by confirming the minutes of the previous session. Each speaker to hand in to the Bureau, not later than two hours after the end of a session, a summary of each of his contributions.
6. Voting on all questions except the election of functionaries to be open. If demanded by not less than ten votes, voting by roll-call to take place, with recording in the minutes of all votes cast.
7. In all divisions, without exception, only members in possession of deciding votes to take part; those with two mandates to exercise two votes.
8. A motion is considered as carried if an absolute majority of votes is cast in its favour. When there is no absolute majority, a second vote will be taken, when a relative majority will decide the issue. In exceptional cases the congress may refer the matter to a commission.
9. All resolutions, apart from those relating to matters of form, to be handed in to the Bureau in writing.

## Congress Bureau and Commissions

*Chairman:* G.V. Plekhanov.

*Vice-chairmen:* Lenin and Pavlovich.

*Secretary of the Bureau:* Fomin.

*Credentials Commission:* Deutsch, Koltsov, Lenin, Sablina, Yudin.

*Programme Commission:* Akselrod, Yegorov, Lenin, Martynov, Plekhanov, Starover, Yudin.

*Organisation Commission:* Lenin, Martov, Glebov, Yegorov, Popov.

*Commission for examining the texts of delegates' contributions:* Fomin, Zasulich, Popov.

*Commission for considering the proposed agreement with the Social-Democratic party of Poland and Lithuania:* Fomin, Martov, Yegorov, Plekhanov, Rusov.

## Principal Resolutions

*adopted at the Second Congress of the RSDLP*

### *On the place of the Bund in the Party*

Considering: (a) that the closest unity of the Jewish proletariat with the proletariat of those races amidst which it lives is absolutely necessary in the interests of its struggle for political and economic liberation; (b) that only such very close unity guarantees success for the Social-Democrats in the struggle against all forms of chauvinism and anti-semitism; and (c) that such unity in no way rules out independence for the Jewish workers' movement in all matters concerned with special tasks of agitation among the Jewish population which arise from differences in language and living conditions — the Second Congress of the RSDLP expresses its profound conviction that restructuring the organisational relations between the Jewish proletariat and the Russian proletariat on federal lines would constitute a substantial obstacle in the way of fuller organisational rapprochement between conscious proletarians of different races, and would inevitably do enormous harm to the interests of the proletariat generally and of the Jewish proletariat of Russia in particular; and, therefore, emphatically rejecting as absolutely inadmissible in principle any possibility of federal relations between the RSDLP and the Bund, as a component section of the Party, the Congress resolves that the Bund occupies, within the united RSDLP, the position of an autonomous component, the limits to its autonomy to be defined when the general Party rules are elaborated. In view of the above, the Congress, regarding the 'Rules' proposed by the Bund delegates as a draft for a section of the general Party rules, defers discussion of this draft until Point 6 of the agenda, and proceeds to next business.

### *On the Central Organ of the Party*

*(resolution by members of the Yuzhny Rabochy group and others)*

Considering: (a) the services of *Iskra* in promoting ideological unity, in developing and defending the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy, and in fighting on the basis of these principles against every kind of opportunist tendency in our Party, as well as against tendencies striving to deflect the movement of the working class from the only correct course; (b) the role played by *Iskra* in directing the Party's practical work; and (c) the guiding role of *Iskra* in the work for unification — the Second Congress of the RSDLP declares *Iskra* to be its Central Organ.

### *On Territorial Organisations*

The Congress recognises as permissible the establishment of territorial organisations, in the form of associations of committees, in those regions of Russia which are distinguished by important special features in respect of language, make-up of the population, etc. Responsibility for approving the rules governing such organisations is assigned to the Central Committee of the Party.

### *On Local Organisations*

With respect to local organisations, the Congress recognises it as necessary that only a single leading organisation should exist in each centre of Party activity, and charges the Central Committee with the task of taking measures to bring about such unity. As regards organisations which are not local in character — military, concerned with publishing, etc. — the Congress accepts the possibility of their existence on condition that they be approved by the Central Committee.

### *On Work among the Sectaries*

Considering that the sectarian movement in Russia constitutes in many of its manifestations one of the democratic trends directed against the existing order of things, the Second Congress calls the

attention of all Party members to work among the sectaries with a view to attracting them towards Social-Democracy.

The Congress charges the Central Committee with the task of dealing with the proposals contained in Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich's report.

### *On Giving Testimony Under Interrogation*

Considering: (a) that any testimony given by revolutionaries when under interrogation by the gendarmerie serves, in the hands of the interrogators, regardless of the intentions of the revolutionaries, as the principal means of charging more people and bringing them under interrogation; and (b) that refusal to testify, if carried out on a wide scale, will markedly help in the revolutionary education of the proletariat, the Second Congress recommends all Party members to refuse to give any kind of testimony when interrogated by the gendarmerie.

### *On Attitude to the Liberals (moved by Starover)*

The RSDLP, the independent political party of the proletariat, proceeding from the proposition, contained in its programme, which proclaims that the Party 'supports every oppositional and revolutionary movement directed against the social and political order prevailing in Russia', does not refuse to enter, and, should the need arise, will enter, through its central institutions, into temporary agreements with liberal or liberal-democratic trends; on condition however, (a) that these trends clearly and unequivocally declare that in their struggle against the autocratic government they stand resolutely alongside the Russian Social-Democrats; (b) that they do not include in their programmes demands which run counter to the interests of the working class and of democracy generally, or obfuscating their consciousness; and (c) that they take as their battle-slogan: universal, equal, secret and direct suffrage.

### *On Attitude to the Liberals (moved by Plekhanov)*

Considering: (a) that Social-Democrats must support the bourgeoisie in so far as it is revolutionary or even merely oppositional in its



struggle against Tsardom; and (b) that, therefore, Social-Democrats must welcome the awakening of political consciousness in the Russian bourgeoisie; but that, on the other hand, they are obliged to unmask before the proletariat the limited and inadequate character of the bourgeois liberation movement, wherever this limitedness and inadequacy shows itself, the Second Ordinary Congress of the RSDLP insistently recommends to all comrades that, in their propaganda, they direct the attention of workers to the anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian character of the trend expressed in Mr P. Struve's organ.

### *On the Socialist-Revolutionaries*

Considering: (a) that the interests of the Russian proletariat generally and of its liberation movement in particular require it to act, in the struggle against absolutism, as a completely independent political force; (b) that only activity aimed at uniting the proletariat into such a force possesses socialist revolutionary content in the struggle against absolutism; and considering, further: (c) that the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' oppose, in theory and in practice, the efforts of the Social-Democrats to weld the workers into an independent political party, and strive, on the contrary, to keep them as a politically amorphous mass capable only of serving as a tool of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Congress declares that the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' are nothing but a bourgeois-democratic faction, towards whom Social-Democrats can in principle have an attitude no different than towards liberal representatives of the bourgeoisie in general.

Considering further: (a) that the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' pursue their bourgeois tendencies under the flag of socialism, and (b) that, in addition, or, rather, for this reason, they are utterly bankrupt as a bourgeois-revolutionary faction, the Congress regards their activity as detrimental not only to the political development of the proletariat but also to the overall democratic struggle against absolutism.

For all these reasons, the Congress condemns unconditionally any attempt to hide the principled and political significance of the differences between 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' and Social-Democrats. On the contrary, it recognises as necessary, both for the development of the political independence of the Russian proletariat and in the particular interests of the liberation movement against absolutism, that

the Social-Democrats should elucidate and emphasise the bourgeois tendencies of the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' and their practical bankruptcy from the general democratic standpoint.

In the light of the above-mentioned considerations the Congress decisively condemns any attempt at uniting the Social-Democrats with the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries', and recognises as possible only partial agreements with them in particular instances of struggle against Tsardom, the conditions of such agreements to be subject to supervision by the Central Committee.

### *On Demonstrations*

Considering: (a) that under the conditions prevailing in Russia political demonstrations are one of the most important means of politically educating the broadest masses of the people and of spreading and strengthening the influence of the Social-Democrats; (b) that demonstrations are at the same time the best means of systematically disorganising the machinery of government; and (c) that, gradually increasing in scope, these demonstrations must lead, and to some extent are already leading, to a series of armed clashes between the people and the governing authority, thus preparing the masses for a Russia-wide uprising against the existing order, the Congress recognises it as necessary that local committees take advantage of suitable occasions for organising political demonstrations.

At the same time, the Congress notes that in the previous approach to this question some substantial defects were observed in practice, and recommends that, in order to eliminate these: (1) the committees should, through extensive preliminary agitation, endeavour to ensure that the broadest sections of the population are sympathetic to the aims of a demonstration and are informed of the Party's aims; (2) demonstrations should be organised to take advantage of moments when the mood of the working masses is favourable for this purpose, and artificial incitement of demonstrations when this condition is lacking should be avoided; (3) the active nucleus of demonstrators should be sufficiently numerous, well-organised, and prepared for the role they have to play; (4) measures should be taken to ensure that, in case of need, the demonstrators will be able to offer an active, and, if possible, armed rebuff to the police hordes; (5) in view of the fact that regular troops are increasingly being used against the people, steps

should be taken to acquaint the soldiers with the nature and purpose of the demonstrations, and to invite them to fraternise with the people; the demonstrators should not be allowed needlessly to irritate the soldiers.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP recognises the desirability of the Central Committee directing and co-ordinating the efforts of local committees in the organisation of demonstrations, and taking upon itself the organisation of Russia-wide political demonstrations in accordance with a general plan.

### *On the Trade Union Struggle*

Considering: (a) that trade union struggle by the workers inevitably follows from the situation of the proletariat in capitalist society; (b) that this struggle by the workers is one of the principal means of countering the tendency of the capitalist system to lower the workers' standard of living; and (c) that in so far as this struggle develops in isolation from the political struggle of the proletariat, led by the Social-Democrats, it results in fragmentation of the proletarian forces and subordination of the labour movement to the interests of the propertied classes, the Congress recognises that the task of the RSDLP in the field of the trade union movement is to lead the day-to-day struggle of the workers for improvement in their working conditions and to agitate for removal of all the obstacles put in the way of the trade union movement by the laws of the Russian autocracy; in short, to unite the separate conflicts involving particular groups of workers into a single, organised class struggle.

At the same time, in view of the increasingly obvious endeavours of the Tsarist government to get control of the economic struggle of the proletariat, under the guise of 'legalising the labour movement', and by corrupting it politically to turn this movement into a pawn in its own political game; in view of the fact that this so-called 'Zubatov policy' not only has a reactionary political inspiration and is implemented by police-provocateur methods, but is a policy of systematic betrayal of the interests of the working class for the benefit of the capitalists, the Congress recommends that all comrades continue the unremitting struggle against Zubatovism in all its forms, that they lay bare before the workers the self-seeking and treacherous character of the tactics of the Zubatovist demagogues, and that they call on the

workers to unite in a single class movement of struggle for the political and economic emancipation of the proletariat. To this end the Congress recognises it as desirable that Party organisations give support and guidance to strikes called by the legal labour organisations, and at the same time make use of these clashes to expose the reactionary nature of the union between the workers and the autocracy.

### *On Pogroms against the Jews*

In view of the fact that movements such as the all too sadly well-known pogrom in Kishinev, quite apart from the abominable atrocities they commit, serve in the hands of the police as a means by which the latter seek to hold back the growth of class consciousness among the proletariat, the Congress recommends comrades to use all means in their power to combat such movements and to explain to the proletariat the reactionary and class inspiration of anti-semitic and all other national-chauvinist incitements.

### *On Shop Stewards*

On the basis of the propositions developed in the resolution on the trade union struggle, and considering: (a) that the new law on shop stewards is intended by the government to serve as a means of strengthening police tutelage over the working class; and (b) that, as with all attempts by the government at 'legalising the labour movement', this law can and must become a point of departure for agitation against the autocracy and for development of the class consciousness of the proletariat, the congress recommends all organised comrades to take part in the elections of shop stewards under the new law and to agitate during these elections for the installation of the most reliable representatives of the workers and so as to expose the tactics of the authorities and the capitalists in these elections.

### *On the Presentation of Propaganda*

Considering: (a) the the growth of the labour movement in Russia is far outrunning the growth of the cadre of conscious worker Social-Democrats capable of acting as leaders in the ever more complex

struggle of the Russian proletariat; (b) that conditions of police-imposed clandestinity hinder in the highest degree the correct presentation of propaganda through study-circles on any wide scale at all; and (c) that the lack of a sufficient number of experienced and skilled propagandists puts considerable obstacles in the way of propaganda of this kind — the Congress recognises the necessity for local committees to give very serious attention to the correct presentation of propaganda, being guided in this above all by the task of developing conscious and active agitators with a definite revolutionary world-outlook. The Congress proposes that local committees give particular attention to selecting skilful propagandists and instructs the Central Committee to take all needful measures for systematising and co-ordinating propaganda work in the localities, by providing systematic guides for study-circles, a series of systematically chosen propaganda pamphlets, and so on.

### *On the Attitude to the Student Youth*

The Second Congress of the RSDLP welcomes the quickening of revolutionary activity among the student youth, urges all Party organisations to co-operate in every way with these young people in their endeavours to organise themselves, and recommends all student groups and study-circles, first, to give priority in their activity to developing among their members an integrated and consistent socialist world-outlook — a serious knowledge of Marxism, on the one hand, and, on the other, of Russian Narodism and Western European opportunism, as the main trends among the advanced tendencies which are in conflict today — and, secondly, to try, when going over to practical activity, to establish links beforehand with the Social-Democratic organisations, so as to benefit from their advice and to avoid, so far as possible, committing major errors at the very beginning of their work.

### *On the Amsterdam Congress*

International socialist congresses should not only testify to the solidarity of the workers throughout the world, but should to a certain extent also give leadership to the ideological and practical struggle of the proletariat. Therefore, the Second Congress of the RSDLP

recommends the Party Council to see that the Party is appropriately represented at the Congress in Amsterdam in 1904, in order to uphold there those principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy by which the Party is guided in all its activity.

### *On Party Publications*

Considering: (a) that the broadening development of the labour movement ought to be accompanied by the clearest possible understanding among the working class masses of the immediate and ultimate aims of the Social-Democrats; (b) that it is a vital task for the Party at the present moment to create a strictly consistent body of publications, accessible to the widest possible mass of readers, taking into account the present state of the Party's forces, the Congress recognises it as necessary: (1) that the Central Organ devote as much space as possible to questions of political and social life in a form as intelligible as possible to the widest circle of readers, and eliminating, as far as possible, articles of a purely theoretical nature; (2) that, with these aims in mind and in order to ensure a more systematic elucidation of problems of socialist theory, *Zarya* be transformed into a Party organ; the Congress instructs the Central Committee to reach agreement with the editorial board of the Central Organ on the conditions governing publication of this organ; and (3) that an extensive pamphlet literature be created, for the purpose of systematically popularising the Party programme and the Congress resolutions on tactical questions.

The Congress instructs the Party's central institutions to see to the taking of all measures needed for the implementation of these decisions.



## First Session

*(48 persons present)*<sup>1</sup>

*On behalf of the Organising Committee, Comrade Plekhanov opened the Second Ordinary Congress of the RSDLP with the following speech:*

Comrades! The Organising Committee has instructed me to declare open the Second Ordinary Congress of the RSDLP. I can account for this great honour only by assuming that the Organising Committee wished to express, by honouring me, its cordial feelings for the group of veteran Russian Social-Democrats who, twenty years ago, in 1883, first began to introduce propaganda for Social-Democratic ideas into Russian revolutionary literature. I address to the Organising Committee, on behalf of all these veterans, sincere comradely thanks for this comradely expression of feeling. I want to believe that at least some of us are destined to fight under the red flag for a long time yet, shoulder to shoulder with fresh, young and ever more numerous fighters. The state of affairs is now so favourable for our Party that every one of us Russian Social-Democrats can cry, and perhaps has already cried more than once, in the words of the humanist knight: 'It is joyous to live at such a time.'<sup>2</sup> And when life is joyous, one has no desire to pass over, as Herzen puts it, into the mineral-and-chemical kingdom — one wants to live, in order to go on fighting. In this lies the whole meaning of our lives.

I said that the situation is now extremely favourable for our Party. These words may seem exaggerated in view of the many disorders, disagreements and differences which have made themselves felt so severely in the last five years. These disorders, disagreements and differences have certainly been very great and very regrettable. But they have not prevented our Party from becoming, both theoretically and practically, the strongest of all the revolutionary and opposition



parties in Russia! Despite all our differences and disagreements, we have already won more than one glorious theoretical victory and have had many substantial practical successes. Twenty years ago we were nothing, now we are a great social force — I say this, of course, taking into account the Russian scale of things. But strength imposes obligations. We are strong, but our strength has been created by a situation which is favourable to us: this is spontaneous strength due to the situation. We have to give this *spontaneous* strength *conscious* expression in our programme, in our tactics, in our organisation. And this is the task before our congress, which is faced, as you see, with a great deal of serious and difficult work. But I am confident that this serious and difficult work will be successfully accomplished, and that this congress will constitute an epoch in the history of our Party. We were strong, but the Congress will enormously increase our strength. I declare the congress open, and propose that we proceed to elect the Bureau. [*Prolonged applause.*]

*The congress then proceeded to elect the Bureau. Comrade Plekhanov was elected chairman, by acclamation: Comrades Lenin and Pavlovich were elected vice-chairmen, and Comrade Fomin secretary, by votes cast in writing.*

*The congress approved the list, presented by the Organising Committee, of nine secretaries to take the minutes.*

*When the elections were over, a member of the Organising Committee read the report on the convening of the congress:*

In ...1902,<sup>3</sup> on the initiative of the Bund and of the Petersburg Committee, a conference of certain of our Party organisations was held. Participating in this conference were: the Bund, the Petersburg Committee, the Yekaterinoslav Committee, *Iskra*, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, the Nizhny-Novgorod Committee, and the Association of Southern Committees and Organisations.

The initiators of the conference proposed to turn it into a Party congress, if a substantial majority of the organisations took part, but this proposal proved impracticable. Consequently, the conference confined itself to drawing up the general proclamation for May 1, and electing an Organising Committee, to which it gave the task of convening the second Party congress, organising transport for common purposes, and publishing proclamations in the Party's name. The

Organising Committee was made up of representatives of three organisations: *Iskra*, the Bund and the Association of Southern Committees and Organisations. The conference then dispersed, and immediately afterwards arrests began to be made. . . Throughout the summer the Organising Committee was unable to begin its work, and a considerable number of organisations did not even know of its existence.

The conference had, incidentally, made provision that in the event of the Organising Committee proving unable to function, it would be the duty of all those taking part in the conference to re-establish it. Therefore, in the autumn, the Party's Petersburg Committee, which did not know whether a single member of the OC was still in existence, again took the initiative, with a view to re-establishing it, and got in touch with the organisations which had been present at the first conference (including, by the way, the Bund), inviting them to meet. This gathering was attended by representatives of the Petersburg Committee, *Iskra*, the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group, the Kiev Committee and the Northern Association: the representative of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group announced that the Association of Southern Committees and Organisations no longer existed. There was no representative from the Bund.

At this gathering it was decided to form an Organising Committee from the representatives of those organisations which the conference had provided should form the OC and then subsequently to complete its composition by co-opting some additional members. This is the connection between the present Organising Committee and the 1902 conference.

The Organising Committee had first to secure the endorsement of at least a substantial majority of the Party organisations. This process did not start off very happily. We have already mentioned that no representative of the Bund attended the autumn meeting. The reasons for this absence were not known to the OC, but it hoped that the Bund would not refuse subsequently to take part in its activity, and a note to this effect was included in the announcement addressed to the Party organisations. The initiators of the meeting invited the Bund by means of a letter to the Bund's Central Committee and also personally, through the Vilna Committee. The letter was not received by the Central Committee of the Bund, and the personal invitation was handed to the Vilna Committee only after the meeting was over.

Consequently, there was no representative of the Bund at this meeting. A delegate was sent to persuade the Bund to take part in the OC. In their talks with this delegate the Central Committee of the Bund said that the Bund would not refuse to participate in the OC, and that its absence could to some extent be made up for by its participation in the drawing-up of the announcement to be issued, and by signing this announcement. The delegate of the OC agreed, and at once sent a letter asking that the printing or distribution of the OC's announcement be delayed, and the original text be sent to the CC of the Bund for signature, if circumstances permitted. Unfortunately, this also was not done, as some committees had already earlier, by accident, been supplied with printed copies of the announcement. A letter explaining what had happened was sent to the CC of the Bund, but, as it turned out later, this letter also failed to arrive. Consequently, the CC of the Bund, being unaware of the reasons why the announcement had not been sent to them, saw in this a desire to prevent them from participating in the OC and the note to the OC's announcement which referred to the Bund seemed to the CC of the Bund to be equivocal, so that they issued a special statement reproaching the initiators of the meeting with showing too little concern about inviting the Bund. However, it is beyond question that the OC had no intention whatever of preventing the Bund from taking part in its work, since otherwise it would not have sent two delegates, one after the other, to invite the Bund to send a delegate.

Subsequently, at the second meeting of the OC, in which a representative of the Bund took part, all these misunderstandings, caused by accidental combinations of circumstances (non-receipt of letters, delay in personal approaches owing to lack of addresses) were cleared up, and the representative of the Bund agreed that the OC had been correctly constituted and that it had shown no desire to exclude the Bund. But the incident with the Bund had already developed into an extensive polemic, which could have been ended only by elucidating the whole incident, in detail. However, the OC considered an incomplete elucidation of the details would be embarrassing and there was nothing it could do but to ask *Iskra* and the Foreign Committee of the Bund to stop their polemic, in view of the facts that (1) the misunderstanding with the Bund had already been settled and (2) this polemic might give rise to a false interpretation of the attitudes of the OC and the Bund towards each other.

Immediately after the publication of the announcement, the Party

committees were asked to state their attitude to the OC. This questionnaire produced the following result. The OC was recognised, in respect of all its functions, by the committees of Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav and the Don Region, the Northern Association and the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, the committees of Tiflis, Baku, Tula, Saratov, and Bryansk, and the Siberian Association. The Odessa and Nikolayev Committees, while endorsing the OC's initiative in calling a Party congress, considered undesirable the attempt by the OC to carry out some of the functions of the Central Committee. The Voronezh Committee took up a quite unique position, issuing a lengthy statement to the effect that the OC was nothing but an intrigue by *Iskra*. We shall not say much about the statement by the Voronezh Committee in view of the fact that it had absolutely no repercussions, apart from protests by two or three committees which were angered by the disagreeable tone of this statement. On the whole it was clear that the OC was unquestionably accepted by the Party, so that it could at once proceed to the further fulfilment of its tasks. At the second meeting, draft rules for a party congress were drawn up, in which consideration was given to the proposal by the Bund, expressed in its printed statement, that the forthcoming congress should be regarded as a constituent congress, and that, therefore, other national Social-Democratic organisations as well ought to be invited to it. This proposal was rejected by all the other members of the OC, which regarded the congress as an ordinary Party congress. After this, a second consultation of the committees took place.

Discussion of the rules for the congress [see *Appendix VI*] by the committees gave the following results: the rules were approved in their entirety, without any changes, by the committees of Kharkov, the Don and Tiflis, and the Northern, Siberian and Mining-and-Metallurgical Associations. The Nikolayev Committee merely made a stylistic correction to the Note to paragraph 1, without altering the sense of this note. The Petersburg Committee proposed merely to alter Paragraph 19, on the procedure for approving the rules, advocating that the OC be given authority to approve them without balloting the committees. These two committees left the rules themselves unchanged. The Yekaterinoslav, Kiev and Moscow committees put forward alterations to Paragraph 4: the first and second of these committees proposed that the 'Emancipation of Labour' group be

struck out of the list, and the third that this be done with the League of Revolutionary Social-Democrats. The Odessa Committee proposed amendments to Paragraph 2, suggesting a different formulation of its second point; to Paragraph 4, suggesting that the *Borba* group be included; to Paragraph 10, proposing to give two deciding votes even to those organisations which operate within the limits of one town; and to Paragraph 19, proposing to submit Paragraphs 2 and 19 to a vote by all the organisations composing the Party. The Baku Committee proposed to delete the note to Paragraph 1; to invite the *Borba* group; to delete Paragraph 3, depriving grouped organisations of their votes; and to increase the number of votes allowed to the Bund. Remarks were also sent in by the committees of Bryansk, Poltava and Smolensk. No remarks were submitted by the committees of Nizhny-Novgorod and Tula. The Bund proposed deletion of the paragraph about imperative mandates.

Altogether, in the vote conducted by the bureau of the OC, out of the 16 organisations which the OC took into account, the great majority, not less than two-thirds, approved each paragraph of the rules taken separately. The draft was accepted, and all the organisations were so informed. At the same time, the OC drew up a list of local organisations with the right to take part in the congress on the basis of Paragraph 2. This list comprised the following organisations: the Petersburg Committee, the Northern Association, the Moscow Committee, the — Committee, the Saratov Committee, the Siberian Association, the Caucasian Association,\* the committees of the Don Region, Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa and Nikolayev, and the Bund. All the other organisations, namely: the Tula, Ufa, Petersburg II and Kishinev Committees, the Petersburg Workers' Organisations, the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, the *Rabochaya Volya* organisation in Odessa, the Crimean Association, the Voronezh Committee, and the organisations in Poltava, Kremenchug, Yelizavetgrad, Kherson, Samara, Kazan, Smolensk and Bryansk, were informed that they were not on the list.

Of these organisations, the nine first-named protested against their exclusion from the list by the Organising Committee. These protests

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\* In view of the fact that official statements were received from all the Caucasian organisations to the effect that the Caucasian Association no longer existed, its place in the list was taken by three committees: Tiflis, Baku, Batum.

were dealt with as follows. In the case of the Tula Committee, the OC had not originally put it on the list owing to lack of precise information as to whether it fulfilled the conditions set out in Paragraph 2. A member of the OC was sent to see them, and it then proved that there were, in fact, no grounds for excluding this committee from participation in the congress.

The Odessa *Rabochaya Volya* group was not included in the list because, according to the OC's information, this group was an extremely small organisation which, though it had indeed been formed before May 1 of last year, carried out hardly any activity before the autumn of that year. Since then the 'activity' of the *Rabochaya Volya* group has been made known to the Odessa Committee only in the form of three or four proclamations, distributed in very small numbers. As regards the other organisations working in neighbouring towns, neither the Nikolayev nor the Kishinev Committee knew anything at all about *Rabochaya Volya*, apart from the fact that it had at some time separated off from the Odessa Committee. The *Rabochaya Volya* group maintained no relations with other Social-Democratic organisations, so that the OC was unable to obtain any other evidence about it. Personal discussion with representatives of *Rabochaya Volya* did not produce an impression that this organisation possessed any solidity. Consequently, the OC informed it that it would not be included in the list of organisations having the right to take part in the congress, and offered to arrange for arbitration if the group was dissatisfied with the OC's decision. *Rabochaya Volya* replied that it protested against its non-inclusion in the list, but at the same time would not accept arbitration, for two reasons: (1) that it considered that this arbitration would be mere play-acting, with the OC getting its own way in the end, and (2) that in general, 'it does not accept' these paragraphs about arbitration. In reply, a representative of the OC informed *Rabochaya Volya* that the entire set of rules put forward by the OC had been approved, and if *Rabochaya Volya* did not accept them, then there could be no question of that organisation taking part in the congress. The representative of the OC then asked *Rabochaya Volya* about its attitude to the forthcoming congress, and proposed that the organisation submit to the congress a written protest against the action of the OC. After discussing this proposal, *Rabochaya Volya* replied that it would not recognise the forthcoming congress as a Party congress, and did not intend to address a protest to it.

In all the other cases where there were protests, arbitration was carried out, resulting in the following decisions:

1. It was decided to invite the Ufa Committee to the congress. [*It was not possible to furnish the congress with the text of the resolution on this matter.*]

2. Where Petersburg was concerned, it was decided to deprive the Petersburg Committee of one of its votes and give this vote to the Committee of the Workers' Organisation (which also calls itself the Petersburg Union of Struggle), while the other group which also calls itself the Petersburg Committee was invited to petition the congress to admit its representative; but the group in question declined to do this. [*The text of the resolution on this matter has not been printed for security reasons.*]

3. The Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers was given the right of full participation in the congress. [*See Resolution I in Appendix VII.*]

4. The Kishinev Committee was refused the right to take part in the Congress. [*See Resolution II in Appendix VII.*]

5. As regards the Crimean Association, the arbitration decision that this organisation be invited to the congress was based on knowledge of its activity in Kerch, Melitopol, Yalta, Fyodosia and Simferopol.

Thus, the original list had five organisations added to it, and so 21 local organisations, including the Bund, are taking part — 27 organisations in all. These are: (1) the Petersburg Committee, (2) the Petersburg Workers' Organisations, (3) the Moscow Committee, (4) the Northern Workers' Association, (5) the Tula Committee, (6) the Kharkov Committee, (7) the Kiev Committee, (8) the Odessa Committee, (9) the Nikolayev Committee, (10) the Yekaterinoslav Committee, (11) the Don Committee, (12) the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, (13) the Baku Committee, (14) the Tiflis Committee, (15) the Batum Committee, (16) the Saratov Committee, (17) the Ufa Committee, (18) the Siberian Association, (19) the Crimean Association, (20) the Bund, (21) the 'Emancipation of Labour' group, (22) the Russian organisation of *Iskra*, (23) the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats, (24) the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, (25) the Foreign Committee of the Bund, (26) the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group, and (27) a committee whose delegates have not shown up at the congress.<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of the paragraph of the rules which states that the Organising Committee must declare the Congress open if not less than half of the organisations with full rights are present, this congress, at which all but one of the organisations are represented, must be considered valid.\*

*Akimov:* Supplementing the report of the Organising Committee, I think it needs to be mentioned that, following the decision of the Byelostok conference of 1902, the Organising Committee was to include representatives of three organisations abroad: *Iskra*, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats, and the Foreign Committee of the Bund. After the arrest of the comrades in Russia, the organisations abroad tried to re-establish the OC, but these efforts were not supported by the comrades in Russia, a circumstance which is very greatly to be regretted, since otherwise this aim could have been attained sooner and more successfully. In the OC's report it is stated that when the draft rules were being worked out, the draft was sent to all the organisations. The Union of Russian Social-Democrats did not receive a copy, however. This explains, incidentally, why, despite the request of the Voronezh Committee to petition the congress to admit its representative, we, who were left for a long time without the rules or the list of organisations with full rights, applied to the OC too late for arbitration to be arranged. I propose, therefore, that the question of this presence of the Voronezh Committee at the congress (a presence to which this Committee has every right, in my view) be referred to a commission.

*Brouckère:*<sup>5</sup> It is not true that a representative of the Petersburg Committee entered the OC, since there are two committees in Petersburg: besides the Committee referred to, there was also the 'Union of Struggle', whose representative at this congress I am. The 'Union of Struggle' received notice of the formation of the OC very late — in February. And the 'Union' then replied that it recognises the OC only on condition that a representative of the 'Union' be included in the OC. The OC rejected this demand. Nevertheless, the 'Union of

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\* On the basis of statements made by the Baku and Batum delegates, the rapporteur of the OC made the following corrections to his report:

- (i) The Baku Committee did not propose inviting *Borba* to the congress.
- (ii) The Batum Committee recognised the OC in respect of all its functions, and accepted the rules in their entirety, without amendments.



Struggle' subsequently recognised the OC and took part in the congress. The 'Union' was given the right to take part in the congress only as a result of arbitration. Above all, I protest against the way the OC continually referred to the 'Union of Struggle' as an organisation, although the arbiter recognised that it is the continuation of the first Petersburg Committee. The Vorenezh Committee, a member of which I happen to have been, did not receive any notice that it was not being invited to the congress. I protest vigorously against the expressions employed by the OC in its report regarding the statement of the Voronezh Committee that the entire OC is an 'intrigue' by *Iskra*. By printing a few phrases from the statement of the Voronezh Committee, *Iskra* gave a false impression of this statement. There were no malicious fantasies in the statement by the Voronezh Committee.

*At the chairman's suggestion, the Congress decided to hand over all grievances concerning the composition of the congress to the credentials commission to which were elected, by written vote: Deutsch, Sablina, Lenin, Yudin and Martov; when the last-named declined election his place was taken by the candidate next in line, Koltsov.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss the standing orders for the congress. Paragraph 1 was adopted without debate. Paragraph 2 dealt with limiting the length of speeches.*

Martynov considered it inappropriate to limit the length of speeches on all questions. Where certain questions were concerned, in view of their importance, the congress should be asked to decide specifically the permitted duration of speeches.

Lieber agreed with Martynov about the adoption of a special procedure when certain questions were being discussed. Furthermore, he could not agree with restricting the number of times each speaker could speak. There were a lot of people at the congress, and in the course of debates many new arguments would be put forward, which it would not be possible to deal with if the number of speeches was to be limited. At most, he might agree to limitation of the length of speeches, but not of their number.

Orlov asked how much time was to be allowed for introducing and defending reasoned proposals, that is, for resolutions or amendments to resolutions. In such cases more time was needed — at least twenty minutes.

*Martov* agreed with Comrade Orlov that argument in favour of a resolution required more time than a mere contribution to discussion. For the sake of saving time he supported the proposal to limit the number of speeches, considering that in exceptional cases the congress could waive the general rule. He was against any special procedure being adopted for particular questions.

*Deutsch* proposed that fifteen minutes be allowed for a first speech and ten minutes for a second. He agreed with limiting the number of speeches.

*Lieber*: The rapporteur must always have the last word.

*Chairman*: This is the normal procedure, so it is not laid down in the standing orders.

*Lange* proposed to add a point about the desirability, in exceptional cases, of departing from the rule of laying down a limited time for the rapporteurs' speeches.

*By a majority of 22 to 13 a period of half an hour was laid down for rapporteurs' speeches. Comrade Lange's proposal was also accepted.*

*A period of twenty minutes was adopted for the introduction of reasoned proposals. It was agreed to limit the number of times a delegate could speak to three.*

*Martov* raised the question of the right of persons with a consultative voice to take part in voting on the standing orders.

*This question was decided in the affirmative.*

*Gusev* proposed that ten minutes be allowed for first and second speeches, and five minutes for a third.

*It was decided to allow 10 minutes for each speech.*

*Paragraph 2 of the congress standing orders was adopted.*

*Martov* proposed that where all questions of a formal character were concerned, that is, questions relating to the order of business (*Geschäftsordnung*), voting should include all persons present; that is, he proposed including also those persons with only a consultative voice. Where questions of substance were before the congress, however, voting should be confined to those with mandates.

*Lenin* considered that this would make counting difficult, and proposed that a uniform procedure for voting be adopted, that is, that only those with mandates be allowed to vote.

*This proposal was adopted.*

*Lieber* observed that persons with a consultative voice had already taken part in voting.

*Lenin* pointed out that this had concerned only the standing orders.

*Paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 of the standing orders were adopted.*

*Yudin* asked whether resolutions would require absolute or relative majorities for adoption.

*Muravyov*: What is to be done about abstentions? If some of the delegates abstain, that means they consider themselves incompetent to vote on the question. I propose, therefore, that questions be decided by a majority of those voting.

*Makhov*: Regardless of the number of abstentions, it may also not be possible to get an absolute majority in cases when votes are split up among several resolutions.

*Plekhanov* proposed that in such cases a second vote be taken, the result of which should be accepted regardless of the number of abstentions.

*Lieber*: The resolutions of this congress will be of enormous importance. The lack of an absolute majority for some resolutions would reduce their importance. Therefore I propose that resolutions be adopted by absolute majority only. If an absolute majority cannot be obtained, the question should be referred to a commission which would compose a generally-acceptable resolution.

*Chairman*: And if, even then, no absolute majority can be achieved?

*Lieber*: Then no resolution whatsoever should be adopted.

*Posadovsky*: The congress decisions are binding on the whole Party. Therefore, in cases when resolutions are approved by only a few representatives of the Party, it would be best not to adopt them at all.

*Makhov* proposed that, when an absolute majority could not be obtained for a resolution, a second vote should be taken, the result of which should be accepted as decisive in every case.

*Martov:* Points such as those which Comrades Lieber and Posadovsky have proposed have never been included in any standing orders. I propose that resolutions be adopted after a second vote, even though only a relative majority be obtained again, since the majority validates the resolution. Abstention from voting shows that those abstaining do not want to associate themselves with the majority's decisions, but will not go so far in their protest as to associate themselves with the minority. In such cases the number of abstentions should be halved, since we must not allow a resolution to be lost through abstentions from voting.

*Gusev:* Three concepts are being confused here: relative, absolute and simple majority. A relative majority is possible only when three or more resolutions are involved. Where there are two resolutions only, there can only be a simple majority.

*Martynov:* It is unthinkable that we should accept the proposal that we refrain from taking decisions, since in that case extremely important points might have to be left out of the programme. I propose that when there is only a relative majority the decision be referred to the commission, and if an absolute majority cannot be secured then, that a decision be adopted nevertheless. Individual Party members may be incompetent to decide questions, but the Social-Democratic Party as a whole cannot refuse to take decisions.

*Koltsov:* Referring questions to the commission would be pointless, since these resolutions will come back again from a commission in which, we must assume, the different points of view are represented. It would be better to take a second vote.

*Lenin:* I propose that all questions be decided by a simple majority of votes cast.

*Lieber:* Opinions become clear only in the course of debates. Perhaps a question has not been clarified sufficiently for voting to take place straightaway. Withdrawing my own proposal, I support the proposal that a resolution which has not obtained an absolute majority be referred to a commission made up of representatives of the different viewpoints, and that a second vote by the congress be accepted as conclusive even if the majority is only relative.

*The congress adopted Comrade Makhov's proposal [see Paragraph 8 of the standing orders.] Paragraph 8 was approved.*

*Koltsov* proposed, in order to facilitate the work of the Bureau, that resolutions be submitted in writing, except for those dealing with questions of a formal character.

*This proposal was adopted [see Paragraph 9 of the standing orders], and standing orders as a whole were approved.*

*The congress proceeded to examine the list of questions presented for it to discuss. This list was put forward by the Organising Committee [see the Agenda].*

*Lieber:* What is meant by the point: 'the national question'? Why is it separated from the point: 'draft programme'? Are we to understand that the national question is a tactical question? Why is this question not included among those of cardinal importance?

*Lenin:* According to plan, the question of the Party programme has been put second. The national question comes into the programme, and decisions on it will be taken when this is discussed. The question of territorial and national organisations in general is an organisational question. And the question of our attitude to the nationalities in particular is a tactical question and constitutes an application of our general principles to practical activity.

*Martov:* The national question is bound up with questions of tactics in so far as the Social-Democrats, as a Party, define their attitude to different national protest movements. True, such questions cannot be finally resolved independently of the settlement of questions of principle, but this does not prevent us from treating them separately.

*Gusev:* I propose one additional heading: 'any other questions', in case unforeseen questions should come up.

*Martov:* I propose that either a heading like this be provided in advance, or that questions that may arise in connection with matters already raised, or resulting from such matters, be referred to the Bureau.

*Lenin:* Neither procedure is called for, since the congress always has the right to take up such questions if requested to do so by a majority.

*Lieber:* What is meant by the point: 'national organisations'? This question is presented as though it is distinct from the question of the position of the Bund in the Party.

*Lenin:* The first point in the list\* is concerned specially with the organisation of the Bund. The sixth point† is concerned with organisation of the Party. In laying down a general rule regarding local, district, national and other organisations, a special question arises: what sort of organisations are these, and on what conditions are they to be drawn into the Party?

*The list of questions for discussion by the congress was adopted. Additional questions, it was decided, could be raised if the request was supported by not less than ten votes.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss the order in which questions should be discussed [see Agenda].*

*Lieber:* The agenda proposed by the Organising Committee is not satisfactory. Why is the question of the position of the Bund in the Party put before all the others? After all, the Bund is present at this Congress as an autonomous section, that is, on the basis of its position at the First Congress. Consequently, the question of a change in the Bund's position in the Party can be discussed only along with and in connection with other questions of Party organisation. This way of discussing the matter is what needs to be followed, for this reason also, that our view of the Bund's position in the Party will depend, to a large extent if not completely, on our view of questions of Party organisation in general. The agenda I propose is as follows: (1) reports, (2) programmatic questions, (3) questions of Party organisation, and, in connection with these, the question of the position of the Bund in the Party. This agenda has the following advantages. Before proceeding to discuss particular questions one must have an idea of the movement's position in the different parts of the country; this is all the more necessary because over five years have passed since the First Congress of the Party, and during this period the picture presented by the movement has altered markedly. The rapporteurs can point out in the usual way, in the course of their reports, the questions and aspects of the movement which are most in need of elucidation, and so on. Programmatic questions should be taken next. Before proceeding to discuss other questions we need to reach agreement on the terrain of principle, of the programme. Essentially, the RSDLP has hitherto

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\* Point 2 of the agenda.

† Point 7 of the Agenda.

lacked an official programme, and is only now proposing to adopt one, and it is self-evident that, first and foremost, we must reach unity on the terrain of the programme. The character of the programme can, moreover, have a marked bearing on the Party's organisational principle.

*The session was concluded*

## Second Session

(51 persons present)<sup>1</sup>

*The discussion on the agenda was continued.*

*Lenin:* I should like to make an observation. It would be wrong, it is claimed, to take the question of the Bund as the first item on the agenda, since the reports should be taken first, then the programme, and the Bund should come third. The arguments in favour of this procedure will not stand up to criticism. They amount to assuming that the Party as a whole has not yet reached agreement on the programme, and that it is possible that precisely on this question we may suffer a split. I find this amazing. It is true that we have not yet adopted the programme, but the supposition that a split may take place over the programme is conjectural in the highest degree. No such tendencies have been observable in the Party, at least in its publications, and these have recently given the fullest reflection to opinions in the Party. There are reasons both formal and moral for making the question of the Bund the first item on the agenda. Formally, we take our stand on the Manifesto of 1898, but the Bund has expressed a desire for a radical change in the organisation of our Party. Morally, many other organisations have expressed their disagreement with the Bund on this question, and this has led to sharp differences, giving rise even to polemics. The Congress cannot, therefore, get down to harmonious work until these differences have been resolved. As to the delegates' reports, it is possible that they may not be heard *in pleno* at all. Consequently, I support the order of dealing with the questions on the agenda which has been approved by the Organising Committee.

*Akimov:* I support Lieber's proposal. It seems to me to be quite impossible for us to discuss the question of the position of the Bund in



the Party before we have decided the question of the way the Party is to be organised. The Bund has its own democratic, republican form of organisation. If our Party is to be organised according to a different principle, then I would defend all measures which would preserve, if only for the Bund alone, that excellent form of organisation which I should have liked to see in our Party as a whole. If, however, our organisation is to be democratic in character, I would be against any measures that might segregate the Bund from the Party. Furthermore, I propose that the question of the Central Organ be put after the question of organisation, since we cannot recognise any particular organ as the Party organ until it is known what the relation is to be between the Central Organ and the Central Committee, whether the editorial board is to be elected, whether it is to be given instructions, whether the editorial board is to be responsible for carrying out these instructions, and so on.

*Lieber:* Comrade Lenin presented the question of the Bund quite wrongly. Party organisations other than *Iskra* have not expressed their attitude on this question. Besides, to put the question of the Bund at the beginning of the agenda means deciding this question in advance. Lenin did not answer the question which has been raised. The Bund has come to the congress as an autonomous section of the Party. In the 1898 rules nothing was said about organisation. The Bund has now introduced a new proposal, but has introduced it under separate headings of the agenda, for example, on district and national organisations, and so on. We have to construct a complete set of organisational rules for the Party, and, therefore, to treat the question of the Bund on its own means to pre-determine it. A change was introduced at the Fourth Congress of the Bund, which expressed the wish to see the Party organised on federal principles. This idea was presented in general form, and not merely in relation to the Bund. Consequently, I propose to the congress that the question of the Bund be not taken as the first point on the agenda.

*Makhov:* Assuming as I did that the Bund had insisted that the 'question of the Bund' be taken first, I had to reconcile myself to this order of dealing with the questions before the congress as, so to speak, a regrettable necessity. It turns out, however, that the representatives of the Bund not only do not claim a right to the congress's exclusive attention, but even protest against being given this privilege. Considering, for my part, that it is not possible to settle the Bund question

without first proceeding from certain theoretical presuppositions which govern all questions of theory and practice, it seems to me that, with the agenda as it has been recommended to us, we shall perforce have to expound some ideas of a general character. I consider that to discuss the question of the Bund as the first item on the agenda will entail a waste of time. If it is necessary to finish with the Bund as soon as possible, then . . .

*Chairman:* Nobody has formulated the question like that.

*Trotsky:* Lieber pointed out that the First Congress provided only the main outlines of our programme, tactics and organisation. It is for the Second Congress to decide a number of questions which come under these three headings. Consequently, he says, the question of the place of the Bund in the Party does not call for separate treatment: it belongs under the heading of Party organisation. I do not share this view. The First Congress provided, to be sure, only the 'main outlines' of Party organisation, but these it did provide. We start from them. Since profound differences have flared up in the Party regarding these 'main outlines', in the interests of future work we must settle these differences before we do anything else. If differences had accumulated within the Party regarding *fundamental* questions of programme and tactics (the class character of the Party, terrorism, and so on) we would have put them at the top of the agenda, since there would be no sense in discussing together the elaboration in detail of our programme, tactics and organisation if we differed among ourselves on the fundamentals of Party life. But such a fundamental difference as this exists on the organisation question alone: are we to have a united organisation with some degree of independence for the sections ('autonomy'), or an association of independent organisations ('federation')? Once this question had arisen before us, as it has arisen, we were obliged to settle it; we could not postpone dealing with it.

*Martov:* One circumstance is being lost sight of. If the congress were to agree to a federal form of organisation, we should thereby break up into a number of independent organisations, and the Russian comrades would be faced with the task of organising themselves all over again, so as to be on an equal footing with the Bund, when discussing questions common to the whole Party. I appreciate the difficulties mentioned by Comrades Akimov and Makhov, but they

must waive them in the interests of saving their strength for later debates.

*Lvov:* Lieber said that the Bund had decided the question of federation in principle only. That is not true. The Bund has applied this decision in its relations with the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. It is also untrue that no Russian organisations apart from *Iskra* have defined their attitude to the Bund. They have made statements expressing solidarity with *Iskra*.

*Akimov* repeated his previous arguments against discussing the question of the Bund as the first point on the agenda, and said that, in the case envisaged by Martov, they would be deprived of the possibility of discussing Party organisations with such experienced comrades as the representatives of the Bund.

*Makhov:* Previous speakers have recognised, just as I do, that to discuss the question of the Bund first and foremost is illogical. Comrade Trotsky has put forward no other grounds for dealing with the Bund question first than that this question is a sore spot. I think that there may prove to be more sore spots than we suppose — for example, the question of a democratic structure or, on the contrary, centralism — so to put the question of the Bund at the top of the list for that reason does not stand up to criticism.

*Plekhanov:* Comrade Martov agreed with Akimov that there is a certain illogicality in dealing first with the Bund question. Actually, there is nothing illogical in this. There is only an appearance of illogicality, created by the situation. Either our congress is an ordinary congress, or it is a constituent congress. If it is an ordinary congress, and of this there cannot be the slightest doubt, then the life of the Party must follow the course that was laid down for it by the First Congress. If some people want to alter radically the Party's way of life, then first of all we must decide whether we agree with this. We are faced by a choice: autonomy or federation? This difference is primarily organisational. But every quantitative difference gradually grows into a qualitative one.

*Lieber* (on a point of order) says that Plekhanov has renamed the point about the position of the Bund in the Party by calling it a point about autonomy or federation.

*Plekhanov:* It's all the same: what the question comes down to is the Bund.

*The list of speakers was closed. By a majority of 30 to 10 it was decided to discuss the question of the Bund as the first item on the agenda.*

*Akimov* repeated his view that it was desirable to examine the question of the Central Organ only after the question of Party organisation had been settled.

*Martov*: Point 3 on the list\* speaks only of the designation of an organ, and the organisational relations between the Central Organ and the Central Committee have to be considered specially, when we discuss the question of Party organisation in general.

*Akimov*: What is meant by 'the designation of an organ'? Will an already existing organ be recognised as the Party organ, or will the editorial board be elected?

*Yegorov*: What has caused the question of the Central Organ to be put third on the agenda? Previously this was an important question because it was not clear what the attitude of the majority was on what the Central Organ should be. Now, when ideological unity has been established in the Party, this question can be discussed in connection with Party organisation.

*Lenin*: Now that the Congress has decided what is to be the *first* item on our agenda, the third point is the only *moot* point so far as the rest of the agenda is concerned. This item reads: 'Creation of the Central Organ of the Party, or its endorsement'. Some comrades consider that this point should be moved to a later position on the agenda: first, because it is not possible to discuss the Central Organ until decisions have been taken regarding the organisation of the Party in general and of its central body in particular, and so on; and, secondly, because many committees have already expressed their views of the substance of this question. I consider the second argument wrong, for declarations by the committees are not binding on the congress and, formally speaking, possess no deciding vote at the congress. The other objection is wrong because, before settling details of organisation, the Party Rules, and the like, we must finally decide the question of the direction to be taken by the Russian Social-Democratic movement. It is, in fact, this question that has divided us for so long, and we cannot, merely by adopting a programme, eliminate all the differences that

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\* Point 4 of the agenda.

*divide* us on this issue. That can be done *only* by deciding, immediately after the question of the programme, what kind of Central Organ of the Party we should create from scratch, or what old one we should endorse, with certain modifications. This is why I support the agenda in the form in which it has been approved by the Organising Committee.

*At the suggestion of the Chairman, all the points of the agenda were adopted en bloc, by 36 to 6, with one abstention.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss the report of the credentials commission, which had the task of determining the composition of the congress.*

*Rapporteur (Koltsov):* There are 42 delegates at the congress, with 51 mandates. Eight delegates (those from the Baku, Batum and Tiflis Committees, the Mining-and-Metallurgical Association, the Crimean Association, the Nikolayev Committee, the *Iskra* organisation, and the League of Revolutionary Social-Democrats) have two mandates each. All the other organisations: the Moscow, Tula, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa, Yekaterinoslav, Don, Saratov and Ufa Committees, the Northern and Siberian Associations, the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, the Foreign Committee of the Bund<sup>2</sup> and the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group have each sent two delegates. The only exceptions are the Petersburg Committee and the Petersburg Workers' Organisation, each of which has one delegate with a single mandate, and the Bund, which has two delegates, with three mandates. All the mandates have been checked and found valid. In addition, there are present at the congress, with the right to a consultative voice, eight members of different organisations invited by the Organising Committee on the basis of the right conferred upon it.

Complaints have been received from the Voronezh Committee and the *Borba* group. As is known, the Voronezh Committee reacted negatively to the very existence of the Organising Committee. In two proclamations it not only criticised the composition of the OC but also questioned its right to exist. The Voronezh Committee, according to its defenders, attempted to enter into negotiations with the OC about being admitted to the congress: nevertheless, a request for arbitration was received from this Committee only two days before the opening of the Congress. This request could not be met, of course, in view of the impossibility, at this stage, of finding arbiters and witnesses. The

commission also questioned the OC and some representatives of neighbouring organisations about the activity of the Voronezh Committee. On the basis of all this the Commission considers it is in a position to propose to the congress the following resolution. [See note.]\*

The other complaint submitted to the commission comes from the *Borba* group. The following message has been received from this group [see Appendix I]. A letter sent by the *Borba* group to the OC was not received. A letter sent by this group to the Foreign Bureau of the OC, addressed to Comrade Deutsch, reached him a few days before the congress. As regards the substance of the matter, the commission, after hearing the representatives of the OC, came to the conclusion that the view expressed in the note to one of the paragraphs of the draft rules of the Second Congress of the RSDLP, concerning the importance of the *Borba* group, is fully in accordance with the facts. The organisations in Russia, with very few exceptions, did not consider at all that this group should be invited, despite the fact that the above-mentioned note had brought its existence to this notice. In view of this the commission could not but take up a negative attitude in this case as well.†

Besides these complaints, the commission received a letter from a Polish comrade belonging to the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, with the following contents. [See Appendix II.] As talks have been in progress for some time between the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the OC regarding participation by that Party in our congress, and as, on the other hand, the letter does not make clear the relations which the Polish Social-Democrats

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\* In view of the fact that the Voronezh Committee has not recognised the Organising Committee or the rules on the basis of which the congress has been convened, the Second Congress of the RSDLP finds that the OC was certainly in the right in not inviting this committee to the congress. The arbitration formally proposed by the Voronezh Committee only two days before the congress opened cannot take place owing to the absence at the present time of the conditions needed. As regards the question of the capacity of the Voronezh Committee, the congress cannot find anything incorrect in the conduct of the OC in this connection.

† Resolution: The Second Congress of the RSDLP, fully agreeing with the opinion of the Organising Committee that the *Borba* group does not constitute a particular tendency in the Social-Democratic movement, and that it enjoys no influence among the Social-Democratic organisations in Russia, decides that there is no case for inviting this group.

wish to have with the Russian Party, the commission decided to propose to the congress the following resolution on this matter. [See note.]\*

All the commission's decisions were adopted unanimously by four of its members. As regards the fifth member: (1) on the question of the Voronezh Committee, he agreed with the first three points of the resolution, but he proposed to replace the fourth point by one reading: 'There is insufficient information to come to a decision on the question of the capacity of the Voronezh Committee'; (2) on the question of the *Borba* group, he said that he knew absolutely nothing about this group, but considered that it should be accorded one consultative voice; (3) finally, on the question of inviting the Polish Social-Democrats, he considered that it was beyond the competence of the commission to decide on this question.

*Yegorov:* The question of the *Borba* group is new to me. Accordingly, I request a five-minute recess so that I can discuss it with comrades.

*After consulting the Bureau, the chairman announced that a recess would be allowed, but only as an exception to the rule.*

*When the session resumed, Martynov was the first to speak:* Without going into the matter of how the 'historical services' rendered by the *Borba* group are to be evaluated, a matter on which we do not share the group's own view, and without going into the question of the group's formal rights to be present at the congress, I urge that it be allowed to attend, simply from the standpoint of the interests of the Party and of the congress: the congress is interested in having an all-sided discussion of the programme, and the participation of this group will contribute to that. It is the only Social-Democratic group which has come up with a criticism of the programme presented by the editors of *Zarya* and *Iskra*. Whatever one may think of Ryazanov's pamphlet, it did cause Comrade Plekhanov to express himself more definitely on

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\* In view of the decision by the OC and in view of the importance of participation in the Congress by organisations which recognise that 'the cause of uniting the Social-Democratic Party throughout Russia is a matter of first-rate importance', the Second Congress of the RSDLP has pleasure in welcoming to the congress comrades from the Social-Democratic movement of Poland and Lithuania, and grants them a consultative voice, before they present to the congress the resolution they have adopted on their relations with the RSDLP.

two points, namely, attitude to oppositional trends, and the village commune. That criticism therefore proved to be of use even from the viewpoint of those who are completely and absolutely in agreement with the *Iskra* draft. The objections raised against participation by the *Borba* group are groundless. We have not invited *Svoboda* or the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' because they are not Social-Democrats, but where Ryazanov was concerned, Comrade Plekhanov himself said, obliquely, at the end of his article, that he was not guided by motives of difference in principle. *Zhizn* was not invited because it never showed the appropriate interest, whereas Comrade Plekhanov considered it necessary to come out against Ryazanov in the pages of *Iskra*, and to set forth objections affecting the substance of the matter. Participation by the *Borba* group cannot endanger the Party's organisational unity, since this group is very small and weak:<sup>3</sup> it has only a 'particular opinion', within the framework of Social-Democratic principles, and it will be useful for the congress to hear every such opinion and to discuss it.

*Plekhanov:* As in the letter from the *Borba* group, so also in Comrade Martynov's speech, it is stated that I said that Ryazanov's criticism resulted from personal factors. That is not true. I recall that I was faced with a choice: either Ryazanov's criticism was a product of his intellectual poverty, or else of a desire on his part to confuse the issue by bringing in considerations of a personal character. The *Borba* group embraced the first alternative, as it had the right to do. The second alternative remained. But so far as I am concerned, the choice is still open.

*Akimov:* Comrade Lenin said that there are no programmatic differences in our Party. That is not true. Everyone knows that such differences do exist, and it would be extremely useful if the different views could find expression at this congress. From this standpoint, it would be desirable to have the *Borba* group here. This is all the more important because, in general, those groups which do not see eye to eye with the majority in the Party did not have an adequate say in the preparation of the Congress. The rapporteur mentioned that in several cases communications addressed to the OC failed to reach them, and this is understandable, since none of the groups which do not share the views of the majority were represented on the OC. The St Petersburg Committee had the right to be represented there. Two



organisations exist in St Petersburg, both calling themselves the St Petersburg Committee, but only one of these was represented on the OC. The other, the 'Union of Struggle', which was recognised by the arbitration tribunal to be the continuation of the old Committee, and which does not agree with the majority line, was not so represented. In the same way, the 'Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad', which was entitled, by the decision of the 1902 conference, to be represented in the foreign section of the OC, did not in fact participate in the OC and the Union's proposal to establish a foreign section was rejected by the OC. The Voronezh Committee has been eliminated from participation in the congress. If the *Borba* group suffers a like fate, then all the groups which have in one way or another opposed the prevailing tendency will have been more or less ousted from taking part in the work of the congress. Furthermore, the *Borba* group has issued as many as three booklets dealing with the drawing-up of the programme, and its presence here would therefore be all the more useful, since no other publications dealing with this matter have appeared. All Party organisations must submit to the decisions of the congress, but they have an inalienable right to be heard, and to be allowed to defend their views before the Party.

*Lange:* If we allowed the *Borba* group to attend the congress we should have to admit every publisher and every author who has brought out a book or a pamphlet. We are devoting more time to this question than it deserves.

*Martov:* To be invited to the congress it is not enough to have said something about the programme. Other Social-Democrats too have sent in critical notes (X,<sup>4</sup> the South-Russia group, and others). These critical notes are being published, so that comrades can become acquainted with them. Thus, the *Borba* group's contribution to the work of unifying the Party, through publishing its criticism, has already been provided for, just as in the case of other criticisms. Consequently *Borba* has been 'heard' by the Party, as Akimov pleaded it should. If our ideal is that as many as possible of all the groups should be present at the congress, but this ideal cannot be realised owing to conditions in Russia, it follows that we must take care that there is no imbalance between the representation of those Social-Democrats who live in Russia and those who live abroad. A number of groups in Russia which do not meet the conditions laid down have submitted without protest to their exclusion from the list of partici-

ants in the congress. Would it be a good thing to give privileged treatment to a small group which, thanks to its origin outside Russia, is able to press insistently for admission to the congress, though its presence here would in no way be more useful than that of those groups inside Russia which have been refused this right? The fact mentioned in the letter from *Borba* that, during the year and a half that *Borba* has been in existence, it has not obtained a sufficient number of supporters inside Russia for its point of view to be expressed at the congress by any Russian organisation speaks more eloquently than anything else of the ephemeral nature of this group. The *Borba* group does indeed, as Akimov said, include 'old comrades of ours', for the members of *Borba* have at different times been everybody's comrades, moving from organisation to organisation and not settling anywhere. The *Borba* group is the embodiment of that period of organisational chaos in the history of our Party which was marked by a disunity not justified by any considerations of principle. I move that the commission's resolution be voted on.

*The list of speakers was closed.*

*Brouckère:* I rise to defend the interests of the Voronezh Committee. I am not satisfied and I am not happy. What the OC has told us is not true. It never approached the Voronezh Committee directly. The OC justifies its conduct by saying that the Voronezh Committee does not recognise it. That is not true. The Voronezh Committee expressed its opinion about the unsatisfactory make-up of the OC. The OC may have taken offence at this, but it had no right to ignore a Social-Democratic Committee. After the OC had been recognised by the majority it could not be regarded as being still a private body. The *Borba* group could have been invited to the congress, in view of the lack of critical pamphlets, other than theirs, about the programme.

*Pavlovich:* The congress is not a gathering for discussion but for practical work by revolutionaries, and so I regard the arguments on behalf of *Borba* as worthless.

*Sorokin:* I condemn the method of 'unification' practised by *Borba*. *Borba* had no differences of principle to justify its action, and the break with *Iskra* is due to Nevzorov's desire to be one of the editors. The congress should sharply condemn this sort of unification by separation. And *Borba's* persistence — I do not want to say, straight out, *Borba's* impudence . . .

*The chairman checked the speaker.*

*Sorokin (continuing):* . . . but we ought to condemn such audacity as they have shown.

*Trotsky:* All who have spoken in favour of *Borba* have made the reservation that, personally, they do not share this group's views, and even that they do not regard them as valuable. Consequently, each speaker was arguing that these views were of interest to somebody else, though not to himself. However, Comrade Martynov did utter one quite concrete argument in favour of inviting the *Borba* group. This group is weak, he said, and to invite it would therefore not bring any risk of a split. So, then, an invitation to the congress should be a sort of certificate of weakness. This view is unacceptable, of course, even though *Borba's* weakness is beyond question. This group is weak both practically and from the moral and political standpoint. In practice, because it has not found any committee to give it representation. From the moral and political standpoint, because its position has never been one of principle, but has always been determined by the conjuncture of the given moment. At the height of *Iskra's* struggle against economism the *Borba* group took up a conciliatory attitude. It seemed to them that *Iskra* was exaggerating the differences. When the revolutionary Social-Democratic trend got the upper hand, *Borba* made a sharp turn-round, and, in Ryazanov's book, accused *Iskra* of economism. One of the representatives of revolutionary Social-Democracy even turned out to be a typical economist, though a very talented one. In this weathercock behaviour lies the root of the moral and political weakness of *Borba*. But people don't get awarded certificates for such weakness. It calls, rather, for punishment. This punishment takes the form of denial of an invitation to the congress. Such a sentence will serve not only as a moral condemnation of *Borba* but also as a warning to every other group who want, in the interests of their political career, to thrust their group physiognomy through any ideological crack that may appear, exploiting the tragic situation of our Party. [Applause.]

*Martov (on a point of order)* proposed that the vote be taken on the report as a whole.

*Lieber (on a point of order):* This proposal cannot be adopted. We may agree with the conclusion, while not agreeing with the reasons given.

*Yegorov:* I propose that the last word be accorded to the OC, since otherwise I shall be put in a difficult position as regards voting on this question.

*Martov:* When the Organising Committee's report was read, it was subjected to a number of reproaches, to which it should reply. This omission must be put right. The OC must be allowed to speak, otherwise we cannot take the vote.

*Lenin:* This goes without saying. The point is that during the recess the OC held a meeting, which brought a new factor into the discussion procedure.

*A proposal was introduced and adopted regarding closure of the list of speakers on the question of Borba.*

*Yegorov:* The meeting of the OC held during the recess did not violate the procedure of the congress, as Comrade Lenin claims. No-one has the right to forbid the OC to meet during recesses. I insist that the decision which the OC has just taken be heard. It can have a bearing on the vote.

*Lenin:* The list of speakers has been closed. The discussion is finished. We are going to vote on the question of the *Borba* group. Comrade Yegorov's demand cannot, therefore, be met.

*Yegorov:* I propose that the OC's statement be heard before we vote.

*Chairman:* The debate is over, and I do not understand how Comrade Yegorov can persist in his demand. In any case, the Bureau will discuss this matter.

*The session was closed.*

## Third Session

*(50 persons present)*

*The session began with the reading of the minutes of the first session of the congress.*

*Brouckère* asked that the following be added to the report of his speech in the minutes: 'The St Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was given representation at the Congress only as the result of arbitration, which recognised this body as a Party Committee and not an organisation. And yet in the report of the OC the St Petersburg Union of Struggle is systematically described as an organisation, and not as a committee.'

*Pavlovich* emphasised that the arbitration decision spoke of 'the so-called Union of Struggle'.

*Popov*: The arbitration body acknowledged that it was not competent to decide whether the 'Union of Struggle' was a Party Committee or not, and left this to be settled by the Party congress.

*Brouckère* did not insist on his assertion, since he had not taken part in the arbitration.

*The minutes of the first session were approved.*

*Chairman*: The morning session went into recess as a result of Comrade Yegorov's statement, and though this may have affected the course of the debate, it could not affect its outcome. The statement about the new meeting of the OC which adopted a certain decision might, however, have that effect. This statement put the Bureau in a quandary from which it has not yet emerged. Formally speaking, we could go on with the debate, but the Bureau has decided that the best course to adopt in such cases is to have a comradely explanation. And

so we turn to the representative of the OC: will he please speak to us on this matter.

*Popov:* During the recess a meeting of the OC was held at which it was decided that the OC would propose that the congress invite Ryazanov to attend, with the right to a consultative voice. The OC did not take the decision itself (1) because the congress was already in session and (2) because the congress had not yet dealt with this question in its discussions.

*Pavlovich:* I must express my bewilderment. I am a member of the OC and also a delegate from the Kiev Committee. Two voices are in conflict in my soul. I know that there are no imperative mandates. But, as a member of the OC, I find myself in an abnormal situation, as a result of the OC's latest statement. I put this question to the congress: has the OC a right to take part in the congress as a body, a right which is not provided for in the rules? After all, the representative of the OC is present here by chance, because he is at the same time the delegate from *Yuzhny Rabochy*. The new decision by the OC contradicts its previous decision. Replacing *Borba* by Ryazanov means exercising pressure on the congress. I want to know, has the OC the right to depart from its role as an accountable person and, as a body, to bring forth decisions after it has presented its report?

*Yegorov:* Comrade Pavlovich's behaviour compels me to make a statement which I would have very much preferred not to make. The OC discussed at its meeting today the protest made by Comrade Pavlovich, and decided, in accordance with its rules, not to lay Comrade Pavlovich's dissenting opinion before the congress. The OC could not, of course, assume the prerogative of depriving anyone of the right to appeal to the congress, and so it proposed to Comrade Pavlovich that it inform the congress that there had been a protest by one member, which the OC did not think it was obliged to bring to the attention of the congress. If the congress should wish to know what this protest was, then the OC would, of course, at once give the information. However, Comrade Pavlovich paid no attention at all to the OC's decision. This was a breach of Party discipline. Comrade Pavlovich could have raised, in a general way, during the discussion, the question of the OC's right to take such a decision. Mentioning the fact that Comrade Pavlovich is a delegate from the Kiev Committee is sophistry. To turn to the substance of the matter. In my view, the OC

continues to exist until it is announced at the congress that it has ceased to exist. It is not by chance that the OC is taking part in this congress. It was aware that some of its members would be taking part in the congress anyway. But even if it had not taken part, the question of the presence of the OC would have come up for decision in one way or another. It might have met separately somewhere and taken this or that decision. While the congress has technical questions to consider, the OC continues to exist. Talk of the illogicality or the impossibility of rescinding a previous decision is baseless, since the OC might have fresh ideas, or might forget to nominate someone, etc. The OC took its decision not because it had changed its attitude to the *Borba* group but because it wanted to remove unnecessary obstacles from the path of the future central organisation of the Party, when this organisation takes its first steps.

*Plekhanov:* Comrade Yegorov's statement was mild in form but sharp in content. If I failed to stop Comrade Pavlovich, the fault is mine, in my capacity as chairman. But the reason why I did not stop Comrade Pavlovich was that I found no breach of discipline in what he was saying. We have no imperative mandates here. And, talking of Party discipline, we must clarify some points concerning this. The discipline of every one of the Party's corporate bodies is binding upon extraneous and lower-level bodies, but not upon those which stand higher. I ask you: in the first place, is the congress extraneous in relation to the OC, and, in the second place, does the congress consider that it is a lower-level body compared with the OC? No, the congress is the Party's highest instance, and Comrade Pavlovich was in no way violating Party discipline by informing the congress of this incident. [*Loud applause.*] Talking of discipline, I did not know how the comrades working in Russia looked on the matter. But now I see that the majority of comrades share my view. Therefore I think that I acted rightly in not stopping Comrade Pavlovich, since there was no breach of discipline in what he said. On the contrary, it is Comrade Yegorov's statement that must be considered a breach of discipline in relation to the congress.

*Popov:* The reasons for which the OC arrived at its latest decision were accepted by the five members, though the fifth member proposed only a special form of invitation to Comrade Ryazanov. I am here not by chance but as the official representative of the OC, empowered by all their votes, except that of Comrade Pavlovich, who did not

protest against this. The congress has not yet abolished the OC, and so we have found it possible to bring forward a proposal.

*Pavlovich:* I recognise as legitimate meetings of the OC which can serve to provide the congress with material, but I cannot accept active interference by it in the affairs of the congress, bringing pressure to bear on the latter's decisions. I denied the legitimacy of the meeting and therefore I did not take part in the voting. Consequently, no discipline can compel me to submit to the decision of a meeting the legitimacy of which I denied.

*Koltsov:* I want to remind comrades that the congress is now discussing the report of the commission charged with determining the composition of the congress. As soon as the report of this commission has been approved, the powers of the OC will cease. But there is one point on which these powers have already ceased: from the moment when the congress elected a credentials commission, any proposal relating to this matter could be introduced only through that commission. Furthermore, I would point out that the commission took its decision about *Borba* after questioning the members of the OC.

*Yegorov:* I have been made the object of blame which I do not deserve. This matter has been wrongly conceived. I did not say, at all, that there is an instance that is higher than the congress. The point was this: if we accept that the OC is an organisation, then it has rules, which its members ought not to transgress. Comrade Pavlovich was given the opportunity to say that he adhered to a particular view, and only if and when the congress asked was he to tell what happened at the OC meeting. This decision was taken by the OC, and Comrade Pavlovich violated it by making his statement. A similar question had already been discussed by the OC, in connection with a proposal from another member, and Comrade Pavlovich then went along with us. Comrade Pavlovich was allowed a way of expressing his views, but only by keeping to a certain form. Although the applause has indirectly, so to speak, reprimanded me, I do not feel that I am in any way in the wrong.

*Lenin:* I cannot agree with Comrade Yegorov. It is he who has infringed the rules of the congress, and he who is against the clause on imperative mandates. I do not doubt the existence of the Organising Committee, just as I do not doubt the existence of the *Iskra* organisation, which also has its own organisation and rules. But as soon as the



rules of the congress were announced, the *Iskra* organisation informed its delegates that they had full freedom of action at the congress. What sort of position do we find ourselves in, as members of the credentials commission of the congress, who yesterday heard two members of the Organising Committee, Comrades Stein and Pavlovich, and now hear an entirely new proposal? There are experienced comrades here who have attended more than one international congress. These comrades could tell you what a storm of indignation has always been aroused when people say one thing in commissions and another thing on the floor of the congress.

*Abramson:* I do not agree at all with Plekhanov and Lenin in the way they define Party discipline. Like Comrade Yegorov, I cannot call Comrade Pavlovich's conduct anything but a breach of discipline, as this is understood by the comrades working in Russia. The applause given to Plekhanov's speech was not meant for his definition of Party discipline but for his statement that the congress is the Party's highest instance. [*Shouts: 'Not true!'*]

*Martov:* I am surprised that Comrade Abramson, as a delegate of the Bund, considers that the comrades in Russia would regard Comrade Pavlovich's conduct as a breach of Party discipline. I doubt if that is so. But if indeed they were to see it in this light, it would show that in their conception of Party discipline they do not look beyond the duty of a revolutionary to that *lower-level* group to which he belongs. Of course it is possible to have, within the framework of a united party, *free* groupings determined by convictions and the demands of conscience which bring together certain members of the Party in relation to certain questions. But no compulsory grouping is permissible within a united party; such subjection to the discipline of a lower group would cut across the duty of a Party member to the Party as a whole. Comrade Yegorov made a very big mistake, and there was nothing left for Comrade Pavlovich to do but what he in fact did. Let me point out that this matter arose during the recess which Comrade Yegorov asked for, so that he could acquaint himself with the situation, as he had only just arrived. Instead, the recess was used for a meeting as a result of which a proposal was put forward, in the name of the OC, which ran counter to the report of the commission, and to the OC's previous proposals. We resolved to refer all proposals to the Bureau. If the OC had applied to the Bureau the latter would have explained that it ought to hand over its proposal to the credentials

commission. Comrade Yegorov says that the purpose of the new proposal is to remove unnecessary 'submerged rocks' from the course of the future central committee. Yesterday the OC had no such fear, when it excluded the *Borba* group and did not include Ryazanov among those to be invited to attend with a consultative voice. What new facts have emerged, to make a change necessary? These new facts should be told to us, and not covered up with petty arguments about submerged rocks, in other words, about what people will say! When our tendency was everywhere in a minority we were not afraid of what people might say. And I advise the OC now, when our tendency has grown strong, not to be afraid of what people will say.

In order to close this incident, I move the following resolution: 'The congress, requesting all comrades who have particular proposals to put forward to hand these in to the Bureau, considers as over and done with the incident caused by the statements of Comrades Pavlovich and Yegorov.'

*Plekhanov*: Comrade Yegorov said that I had made a serious accusation against him. There can be no doubt, however, that this accusation was no less serious than that which he made against Comrade Pavlovich. One must take the rough with the smooth. I accused no one, but merely, as chairman, corrected statements made which seemed to me to be out of place. And in making these corrections I had to explain the conceptions of Party discipline by which I was guided. Comrade Abramson expressed doubt as to whether the comrades in Russia are in agreement with me on the definition of Party discipline. I think that the comrades in Russia are on my side, just as I have logic on my side. Higher obligations prevail over lower ones. Turning to the unfortunate incident, I must say this: all of us, like the Bureau, are fully grateful to the OC for its work in convening the congress, but . . . 'Plato is dear to me, but still dearer to me is truth.' The OC exists now as a group reporting on its activities. It is impossible to report on one's activities and at the same time continue them.

*Fomin (on a point of order)*: Martov has moved a resolution to proceed to next business. I second this, and propose that the list of speakers be closed.

*Fomin's proposal was adopted. (Those speakers who had put their names down earlier were still allowed to speak.)*

*Popov*: The OC supposed that it continued to exist until the con-

gress dissolved it. But since doubt has been expressed as to its existence, I move that the congress express its view on this matter.

*Pavlovich:* I repeat my question: has the OC the right to meet as an independent body? Denying as I did the legitimacy of the OC meeting, I was not obliged to submit to its decisions. The recommendation of Ryazanov to the congress ought to have been introduced through the commission.

*Martynov:* In view of the grave charges which have been levelled, directly or indirectly, against four members of the OC, I must observe that two questions are being confused here: the question of the general rules of Party discipline and the question of the standing orders of the congress. I consider that the comrades of the OC did not act contrary to the general rules of Party discipline. In the army, where discipline is at its strictest, every soldier has the right to appeal to the highest instance, but only according to a certain established procedure, going through the lower instances. From this point of view, the members of the OC were right to require of their fellow-member, Comrade Pavlovich, that if he appealed to the congress against the body to which he belonged, he must do this in the established way, namely, through this same body. The mistake made by the OC comrades consisted only in that they violated the standing orders of the congress: they continued to carry out functions which they had lost with the opening of the congress.

*Yegorov:* The chairman was mistaken in taking my reproach as directed at him. He could not know what the OC had decided. As regards the reproach that I made use of the recess for a purpose other than that for which I had requested it, it must be stated that I did this after a private conversation with the chairman, who told me that this was a matter for the OC. Consequently, the accusation made was applicable not to me but to the OC.

*Trotsky:* Comrade Martynov takes, on the question of Party discipline, the viewpoint of military discipline, which is based on the principle that rank must respect rank. In the army someone of lower rank cannot address himself to the highest instance otherwise than through the intermediate instance. But in this case there was no instance standing higher than the OC, and lower than the congress, to which Comrade Pavlovich could have appealed. I regard the incident as closed, and support Martov's resolution.

*Makhov:* Regardless of differing notions about Party discipline, Comrade Pavlovich justified himself only by the fact that he considered the decision of the OC to be invalid. That is his affair. All the same, though, he acknowledged the existence of the OC, and it seems to me that it would have been more tactful to ask the congress to decide whether or not the meeting of the OC was legitimate. I find that Comrade Yegorov's error of tact was caused by the error of tact made by Comrade Pavlovich.

*The chairman* pointed out to the speaker that Comrade Pavlovich was not in the dock.

*Makhov:* That's how it looked just now, where Comrade Yegorov was concerned.

*Martov's resolution was adopted unanimously.*

*In order to define the position of the OC at that stage, Popov moved the following resolution:* 'The congress declares that, from the moment that it opened, the OC is to be regarded as having been dissolved, and must cease its activity completely.'

*Koltsov* moved another resolution: 'With the election of the credentials commission, the OC lost the right to influence, as a body, the composition of the congress, and its activity as a body is regarded as having ceased so far as this matter is concerned.'

*Pavlovich* considered Comrade Popov's resolution unfortunate. According to this resolution the OC was to be regarded as dissolved, and yet it had to exist in order to be able to make its report to the congress.

*Deutsch* proposed that Comrade Popov's resolution be adopted, with the amendment that 'dissolved' be replaced by 'activity . . . suspended'.

*Popov:* The word 'dissolved' is to be understood in the sense that the OC has no right to take any decisions. However, the OC still has work to do in Russia, in the fields of transport, technical questions and so on. Must the OC stop carrying out these functions?

*Plekhanov:* Comrade Popov's resolution cannot be adopted for the reason mentioned by Comrade Popov himself. The activity of the OC must be discontinued only on the matter of the convening of the congress. I support Koltsov's proposal.

*Deutsch* put forward a draft resolution: 'The congress recognises that with the opening of the congress the activity of the OC is discontinued.'

*Yudin* presented a resolution: 'From the moment that the OC gave the congress its report on its activity in connection with the composition of the Congress, the activity of the OC, as a body, is considered to be at an end so far as this matter is concerned.'

*Stein* asked that the significance of this resolution be explained. Was the OC to continue to exist, as a body, or was it completely done away with by this resolution? The OC was left with practical activity to perform. If it was to be allowed the right to carry on practical activity, then it was thereby allowed the right to undertake discussion of these questions.

*Lenin*: The Organising Committee can meet, but not as a body exercising influence upon the business of the congress. The practical activity of the OC does not cease: what ceases is its influence on the congress, apart from the commission.

*Stein*: I do not in any way contest the resolution, but I find it necessary to define more clearly just what activity remains for the OC to carry out.

*In the voting, Koltsov's resolution was passed by a majority of 32. Yudin's resolution received 16 votes, and the resolutions of Popov and Deutsch one each.*

*Chairman*: I invite those who have advocated inviting Ryazanov, with a consultative voice, to see the commission about the matter. We now have to consider the question of participation in the congress by the Polish comrades.

*Lieber*: The proposal brought forward by the commission violates the rules of the congress. All the speakers have said that this congress is an ordinary congress. The Bund said in its statement that the congress should be a constituent one, and that all the nationalities should be represented at it. In answer we were told that the congress is a congress of Russian Social-Democratic organisations. Now they are inviting representatives of the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, which is an independent organisation. It is being said here that the Polish Social-Democrats want unity, but who is there that does not want it? *Borba*, too, wants unity. When the Bund proposed

that the Lithuanian and Lettish Social-Democrats be invited, this proposal was rejected: why then does an exception have to be made for the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania? If the same proposal had been made to the Lettish and Lithuanian Social-Democrats, then, probably, it would have been accepted by them.

*Popov* expressed surprise that the commission's resolution on inviting the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania began with the words: 'In view of the decision taken by the OC,' when in fact the OC took no such decision.

*Stein* expressed his astonishment on the same matter. Giving evidence yesterday he had told the commission that the OC declined to invite the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania to the congress and proposed that this be done by the congress itself.

*Deutsch*: Talks with the Polish Social-Democrats were carried on through me, and I told them that the congress might invite them. If I exceeded my authority then the entire responsibility rests with me.

*Yegorov*: No talks with the Polish Social-Democrats took place officially. Judging by the mood among the Russian comrades, the OC thought that it was desirable to have the Polish Social-Democrats at the congress, and so they considered it necessary to let the Polish comrades know this.

*Lenin*: In its report, the commission finds that the presence of the Polish comrades at the congress is desirable, but only in a consultative capacity. In my view, that is quite right, and it seems to me perfectly reasonable to begin the resolution of the commission with a statement to this effect. It would be highly desirable if the Letts and Lithuanians could be present, but, unfortunately, that is not feasible. The Polish comrades could at any time have announced their conditions for joining, but they did not do this. The Organising Committee was therefore right in showing reserve in relation to them. The question is not clarified, either, by the letter from the Polish Social-Democrats which was read here. In view of this, I move that the Polish comrades be invited to attend as guests.

*Martov*: There were official relations between the OC and the Polish Social-Democrats, and they were effected through the *Iskra* organisation, which conveyed the OC's letter to the Polish comrades and received their answer. Thus, one cannot put the Lithuanians and Letts on the same plane with the Polish Social-Democrats, since the

latter took steps towards unification which the former did not. I think it necessary to mention, though, that the step taken by the Polish Social-Democrats was without significance, since it was put to them that they must unequivocally define their attitude on the question of entry into the Russian Party, and this they have not done. The OC was not empowered to take responsibility for inviting the Polish Social-Democrats. The congress must state its attitude on this matter.

*Yegorov* agreed with *Martov*, and found the reference to the congress rules unfortunate. An attempt had also been made in relation to the Lithuanian party, and talks carried on with them, but no decision had as yet been reached.

*Abramson*: I am not opposed in principle to unity with the Polish Social-Democrats, but I regard the resolution of the commission as wrong. It has already been shown that it does not satisfy the formal conditions which the OC adhered to when drawing up the congress rules, which it has upheld throughout its activity, and from which our congress, too, has proceeded up to now. The Polish Social-Democrats have so far not declared themselves to be a section of the Party, despite the fact that they have several times been asked to do this, as we learnt here from Comrade *Martov*. They have shown very great caution in this matter, and they still maintain this caution in the letter which they have addressed to the congress. We do not know what kind of unification the Polish Social-Democrats want, in what sense they regard themselves as being a party, whether or not they have passed a resolution on this point at their congress, and, if so, what this resolution is. The letter presented to us remains silent on all that. The resolution from the commission says that, depending on the resolution adopted by the Polish Social-Democrats, they may be allowed to exercise a consultative voice at the congress. But their resolution may be such that they would have to separate themselves completely from this congress. Consequently, it would be logical for the commission to take a different line, namely, to ask the Polish Social-Democrats for the resolution they have adopted. Comrade *Lenin* was mistaken in what he said about the resolution of the OC on the Polish Social-Democrats. The OC did not decide to ask the congress to invite the Polish Social-Democrats, and this has been confirmed today by the representative of the OC. Consequently, the commission's statement that its resolution is in accord with the decision of the OC is also wrong.\*

*Trotsky:* I do not understand the objections which have been raised against inviting the Polish comrades to the congress — objections based on the *rules for convening* the congress. These rules were drawn up by the OC on the basis of the norms laid down by the First Congress, and they served as their guide. But once the congress has met it has the right to invite new comrades, if it finds this necessary. It is proposed that the Polish comrades be invited to attend with a *consultative* voice. If the Polish comrades tell us that they regard themselves as forming a section of the Russian Party, then we shall have no grounds for refusing them a deciding vote. It is objected that this is premature: our future Central Committee, it is said, will enter into negotiations with them and will do everything needed to bring about unity. Of course! But if the Polish comrades declare their adhesion to the Party it will be only fair to enable them to exercise influence in the formation of the Central Committee itself. I support the invitation to the Polish Social-Democrats.

*Lieber:* Trotsky's argument is very odd. While the OC had no right to invite the Polish Social-Democrats, he says, the congress has this right. I do not agree. The Congress cannot repudiate all the preliminary work done, and change the rules. If the OC had taken steps to approach the Letts and Lithuanians, the situation would have been different. Judging by the OC's report, this was not done. Our organisations are present at a well-defined congress, which cannot consider itself as an instance capable of changing absolutely everything, even the rules. The Polish comrades have not put forward any resolution which might have elucidated for us the relations they wish to have with the Russian Social-Democrats, and no grounds exist for inviting them.

*Lenin:* I cannot see any weighty arguments against the invitation. The OC took the first step in bringing the Polish comrades closer to the Russian comrades. By inviting them to the congress we shall take the second step along this path. I cannot see that any complications will result from this.

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\* Comrade Abramson's resolution: 'The congress proposes that the Polish Social-Democrats table the resolution adopted at their congress about the question of relations with the RSDLP, this being necessary in order to decide the question of the Polish Social-Democrats' participation in the Second Congress of the RSDLP.'



*The discussion of this question came to an end. The congress passed to considering the resolution about the Voronezh Committee.*

**Akimov:** In my view, the OC's statement about the non-recognition of the OC by the Voronezh Committee is wrong. The Voronezh Committee only said that the OC was wrongly constituted, and that this had a harmful effect on its work. If something was said against the rules for the congress, the Voronezh Committee had the right to say it. They even had the right to say at the congress that they consider the composition of the OC to be unsound. The Voronezh Committee's request for arbitration was presented in good time, through both the Petersburg Union of Struggle and the Foreign Bureau of the OC, and the Voronezh Committee was not to blame if this request was brought forward only two days before the congress. The request was handed to a member of the OC in good time by the Petersburg Committee. The fault lay with the unsound composition of the OC, and also with the fact that the Union was not told when the congress was to be held. I do not know whether the Voronezh Committee managed to send delegates but the congress ought, in principle, to express its view on this matter.

**Yegorov:** I cannot accept the concluding part of the resolution submitted by the commission. In omitting to invite the Voronezh Committee to the congress the OC was not guided by the consideration that the Voronezh Committee refused to recognise it.

**Brouckère:** The Voronezh Committee showed more interest in the congress than any other group. It undertook active work with a view to influencing the preparatory work for the congress. And the OC had no right to punish the Voronezh Committee for this by not inviting it to the congress. Nor do I agree with the commission that the Voronezh Committee has displayed only feeble activity.

**Lensky:** The previous speaker said that the Voronezh Committee worked very actively and showed much liveliness and energy in the matter of the congress. But this energetic work was of a shameful character. In the two letters received by the Yekaterinoslav Committee, the moral physiognomy of the Voronezh Committee was revealed rather unprepossessingly. These letters were nothing better than libels . . .

*The Chairman (interrupting the speaker):* I must ask you not to use

such expressions when speaking about Party comrades, even when they are absent.

*Brouckère:* Evidently our tastes differ. To me the moral physiognomy of the Voronezh Committee, as expressed in these declarations, seems attractive and agreeable. I want also to add that the OC addressed its inquiries to organisations which were hostile to us. Further, the OC did not supply the written material to all the organisations.

*Orlov:* I agree with Comrade Brouckère that the Voronezh Committee acted very energetically, all right: the trouble was that all this energy was expended in making visits and sending 'friendly messages' to 'friendly committees'. As an example, take this fact. The Yekaterinoslav Committee was one of the most stubborn in the sense of struggle against, or, more correctly, indifference to, the *Iskra* tendency. Clearly, this Committee was very dear to the Voronezh Committee, whose whole aim consisted in combating that tendency in Russian Social-Democracy. Having learnt that the Yekaterinoslav Committee was beginning to depart from its previous line, the Voronezh Committee hastened to despatch a friendly message to Yekaterinoslav, advising that Committee not to become infatuated with the beauty and elegance of fashionable views. Ungrateful Yekaterinoslav did not reply to this 'fraternal admonition'. Another interesting fact: when it came forward as a Party Committee, the Voronezh Committee applied to Yekaterinoslav with a request to print its proclamation announcing that it had been formed. To the inquiry of the Yekaterinoslav Committee as to what Committees recognised this organisation as a Party Committee, the comrade from Voronezh who had come to Yekaterinoslav for this purpose named the Rostov Committee. The request was carried out, but soon it emerged that Rostov had not in fact given its consent to this, and that the Voronezh comrades had said in Rostov that they were recognised by Yekaterinoslav. All this time, all that I knew of the activity of the Voronezh Committee was three proclamations, printed by the presses of other towns. I say nothing of those proclamations, by which the committee became known throughout Russia. All this, it would seem, is clear enough, and provides a distinct picture of the solidity and the moral physiognomy of the Voronezh Committee.

*Brouckère:* If the Voronezh Committee is a convinced opponent of *Iskra*, then it naturally tries, by means of friendly letters, to influence

other committees. The previous speaker most probably also wanted to show that they have no press in Voronezh. That is not the case. His information about the issuing of the proclamations is incorrect. The Voronezh Committee has issued not three but seven proclamations. The statement that the Voronezh Committee was endorsed by the Yekaterinoslav and Don Committees reached my ears only yesterday: although such endorsement was not required, the Voronezh Committee was in fact endorsed by the Petersburg Union of Struggle and the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad.

*The discussion was closed, and the rapporteurs of the commission and of the OC were allowed to have the last word.*

**Koltsov:** First of all, I regard it as my duty to apologise to the comrades for some shortcomings in the report I gave this morning. Our commission worked all night and, not surprisingly, I was very tired after that. Some of these defects have been pointed out to me and I shall now try to correct them. First, it must be mentioned that the letter from the *Borba* group which was not received by the OC was forwarded by the Foreign Bureau of the OC, which possesses the relevant documents. Then, I forgot to mention that the OC replied to this letter from the *Borba* group as soon as it received it. I will read the reply. [*See Appendix III.*]

I now turn to the objections which have been put forward here. First, about the *Borba* group. It must be acknowledged that the objections presented here by the group's few defenders have surprised me very much. Comrade Martynov is greatly concerned that he should not be identified with this group, and yet he insists that we invite a group which he obviously does not hold in very high esteem, merely because, if we do, the discussion of the programme will be more complete. Yet, what *Borba* had to say it set forth in a booklet, which anyone may read and, consequently, anyone is at liberty to use the arguments contained in this publication. I was particularly amazed by Comrade Akimov. In all our epic struggles about 'unity', in which the *Borba* group always played, in its own words, the role of conciliator, we always came up against the question of the role to be played in the new organisation by the *Borba* group — would it obtain the post of editor, would it preside at the congress, and so on. And I recall that on one such occasion Comrade Akimov replied to one of the members of the *Borba* group: 'Whose fault is it that you stand outside

the organisation? You went everywhere, and everywhere you were welcomed, but everywhere you ran away.' Now, however, it is said that this group has to its credit not only ambitions but also a booklet criticising the programme drafted by *Iskra* and *Zarya*. In my opinion, what is new in this booklet is not true, and what is true is not new. But even if this booklet were very valuable the congress would have no call to establish a precedent on the basis of which, in future, everyone who has published a booklet would have the right to attend a congress.

As for the Voronezh Committee, I say that it is quite clear from the proclamations it issued, especially from the second of these, that it did not recognise the OC, did not recognise the OC's right to convene a congress; and all one can do is to ask how it expected to get into this congress? Of the particularly lively activity displayed by this Committee we heard here from the representative of the Yekaterinoslav Committee, and yesterday, in the commission also from the representative of the Don Committee: according to these representatives, the activity of the Voronezh Committee was insignificant, except that a great deal of energy was expended in journeys to various towns in order to get various proclamations printed.

A few words more about the invitation to the Polish Social-Democrats. In the first place, the commission agrees to delete from the resolution the first phrase, referring to the decision of the OC. As regards the objections raised, my answer is that we have not invited other national groups because they have not shown any desire to work with us for the unity of the RSDLP. On the other hand, we have invited the Polish Social-Democrats with a consultative voice only because they have hitherto not stated the relations which they intend to have with the Russian Party.

In view of all the above, I recommend the congress to approve the resolution in the form in which it has been presented by the commission.

*Popov (as rapporteur for the Organising Committee):* As regards the invitation to the *Borba* group, I declare on behalf of the OC that the OC in no way renounced its previous view about the *Borba* group when it put forward the proposal to invite Ryazanov with the right to a consultative voice.

Regarding the incident with the Voronezh Committee, I can say this. The Voronezh Committee has accused the OC of not giving it the opportunity to protest in time and ask for arbitration. I ask the

congress to note that the formation of the OC was known to the Voronezh Committee already in February. And that Committee was fully able to enter in good time into negotiation with the OC. The Voronezh Committee circled round and round the OC for a long time, collecting information about its composition, formation and so on, but had no dealings with the OC itself. In general there was not much logic in the attitude of the Voronezh Committee to the OC. To the announcement by the OC in which it spoke of itself as a private organisation the Voronezh Committee replied with a letter in which it treated the OC as a Party organ, and demanded representation in it, accordingly, for the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. When the OC had been recognised by nearly all the Committees and had become a Party institution, the Voronezh Committee wrote a second letter, beginning with the words: 'To the group calling itself the Organising Committee' — but then, after that, it applied once more to the OC, as a Party institution, requesting arbitration. It is impossible in view of this to accuse the OC of not entering into relations with the Voronezh Committee. As regards Comrade Akimov's comment that the OC could have communicated to the Union of Social-Democrats Abroad the list of organisations possessing the right to take part in the congress, the OC did not know that the Union had close relations with the Voronezh Committee. The request for arbitration which was addressed to the OC here could not be met because the OC was not in a position to furnish the tribunal with the necessary materials, and also because, once the congress was in session, there would be no point in organising an arbitration tribunal on its doorstep.

About the invitation to the Polish Social Democrats I can say that the OC took the decision not to invite them, even with merely a consultative voice, not in the least because it wanted to prevent the Polish Social-Democrats from participating in the congress, but simply because it was not decided on whether to invite an organisation which did not consider itself as belonging to the RSDLP.

*After this, the resolutions of the credentials commission were voted on. The resolution about Borba was passed by 42 to 4. Yudin's resolution, proposing that one member of the Borba group be invited, with a consultative voice, was rejected by 41 to 5. The resolution on the Voronezh Committee was passed by 37 to 3, with 4 abstentions. Rejected were: Akimov's proposal that the statement that the request for arbitration was*

*received only two days before the congress be deleted from the resolution, and Lieber's proposal (29 to 10) that the words 'since it did not recognise the OC' be deleted from the reasons given. The resolution of the commission on the Polish Social Democrats was passed by 37 to 6, with 5 abstentions, and Abramson's resolution was rejected by 35 to 8, with 5 abstentions. A proposal that the Polish Social-Democrats send not more than two delegates was introduced and passed, with 29 votes.*

**Chairman:** Now all the preliminary work of the congress has been completed. The congress has been finally constituted. Its decisions are unconditionally binding on the entire Party, and supersede all decisions of the First Congress that may be in contradiction to them. I propose that we express to the Organising Committee the profound gratitude of the congress for the energetic, skilful and tactful way in which it has performed its tasks. [*Tumultuous and prolonged applause.*]

**Chairman:** With regard to the report of the OC, the Bureau has been handed a resolution conceived in these terms: 'The Second Congress of the RSDLP, having heard the report on the activity of the Organising Committee for restoring the organisational unity of the Party, expresses to the OC the profound gratitude of the Party for the skilful and tactful fulfilment of the task which it assumed by virtue of the decision of the conference of March 1902.'

**Chairman:** All in favour of this resolution, please stand. [*All stand.*]

**Lieber:** The text of the resolution bears the signatures of certain delegates. I propose that the resolution be recorded in the minutes without signatures, or else that the resolution be made available for everyone who wishes to sign.

**Chairman:** That goes without saying. The resolution will be recorded in the minutes without signatures. And it will also be made available for all who wish to sign it.

*The session was closed.*

## Fourth Session

*(Present: 42 delegates with 51 deciding votes,  
and 8 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The chairman, after making some announcements, read a request from the Caucasian delegates to allow a comrade of theirs who had taken part in the Social-Democratic movement from the start to attend the congress with the right to a consultative voice.*

*Martov* proposed that the OC be asked about this.

*Makhov*, while having nothing against inviting new comrades, said that the congress only lost time by discussing such questions.

*Popov*: In order that the OC might reply to a question about inviting a new comrade it would be necessary to rescind the resolution passed yesterday, since that meant that the OC had no power to influence the composition of the congress once it had been constituted. To express an opinion on an invitation to a new comrade would signify influencing the composition of the congress.

*Karsky*: If the OC no longer has the right to influence the composition of the congress, that does not mean that it is obliged to lose its memory.

*Lieber* proposed that the discussion be closed.

*This proposal was adopted.*

*The proposal of the Caucasian delegates that their comrade be invited, with the right to a consultative voice, was then approved.<sup>1</sup>*

*The following declaration by Comrade Martynov was read: 'I must make a correction to the speech by the representative of the OC, Comrade Popov. He said: "I did not know that the Voronezh Committee and the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad were one and the same." I draw attention to this because in accordance with the*

rules of the congress, Comrade Akimov always speaks in his own name, and not in that of the Union. Besides, Comrade Akimov did not say that.'

*Martov* proposed the election of a commission to work on problems of the programme. In view of the need for serious preparatory work, they might already at this stage begin compiling the list of candidates.

*Akimov* considered this procedure inappropriate. What was needed first was a general discussion, and then there would be elected to the commission representatives to the different tendencies which had become manifest during the discussion.

*Karsky*: It is not necessary to wait for the discussion for the tendencies to show themselves, as these are already very clear. Besides, after the discussion little time will be left for the work of the commission.

*The Bureau agreed with Comrade Akimov's view.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss the second point on its agenda — the place of the Bund in the Party.*

*Lieber (rapporteur)*: I have a hard task to perform in setting forth the grounds for the proposal made by the Bund. In the first place, the majority of the delegates have obviously formed a definite opinion about the matter under discussion, and in the second place, organisational questions, in the sense of questions of national and district organisation, have not been gone into in our publications. True, there has been a fierce polemic on the matter, but essentially nothing was said in it. Let me briefly recall the history of this question. On the basis of the Manifesto of 1898, the Bund entered the RSDLP in accordance with the principle of autonomy. As we know, soon after the 1898 congress the Russian Party ceased to exist legally, and so the organisational relations between the sections of the Party were determined in an absolutely casual way. The different sections acted independently of each other. And, juridically speaking, no forms of relationship between the Bund and the other Party organisations were ever laid down. Then, at the Fourth Congress of the Bund the question was raised of giving proper form to these relations — the question of the principles on which the Russian Party should be organised. A resolution which you know about was adopted dealing with this question. At the Fifth Congress of the Bund, held not long ago<sup>2</sup> — a report on which we have not yet been able to give, owing to



the non-adoption of the agenda we suggested — this question of the position of the Bund in the Party came up for discussion again, and the congress drew up an agreement, which I will now proceed to explain.

The Manifesto of 1898 laid down the principles governing Party organisation and the relation of the Bund to this. But no formal expression was given to these principles. And now, when we bring forward a set of rules worked out by the Fifth Congress of the Bund, we are not introducing changes, but merely proposing rules\* which constitute a realisation and a further logical development of the principles of the Manifesto of the First Party Congress. We do not agree with the expression 'autonomy', because it is indefinite, and it can cover a variety of contents. But we do not advocate the term 'federation' either, for this is also too vague. And in fact, if we analyse the point in the Manifesto of the First Congress concerning the Bund (the Bund is an autonomous section of the All-Russia Party) we come to the conclusion that a different, much wider content is given to the concept of 'autonomy' by the Polish Socialist Party when it demands this of the German Social-Democratic Party.

\* *Article 1.* The position of the Bund in the Party is defined by the following points.

*Article 2.* The Bund is the Social-Democratic organisation of the Jewish proletariat, not restricted in its activity by any geographical limits, and it enters the Party as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat.

*Article 3.* To the Central Committee of the Party, the Foreign Committee of the Party and the Party congresses the Bund elects its own representation to express itself as such on those questions which fall within the competence of the congresses of the Bund. The mode of representation of the Bund must be based on principles which are identical for all sections constituting the Party.

*Note.* Local and district organisations are to be treated for this purpose as separate sections.

#### *Competence of the Bund*

*Article 4.* The programme of the Bund is the programme common to the whole Party, which it has the right to supplement for itself on questions arising from the special position of the Jewish proletariat in Russia and the interrelation of social forces within the Jewish nation, with special points which do not run counter to the common Party programme.

*Article 5.* The Bund holds its own congresses, to decide all questions specially concerning the Jewish proletariat, and has its own Central Committee.

*Article 6.* The Bund has the right to decide, being guided by the Party programme, those general questions on which no resolutions have been presented at Party congresses. These decisions have temporary force, until general Party congresses take decisions on the questions concerned.

*Article 7.* The Bund has freedom to settle the affairs of its own organisation.

*Article 8.* The Bund has the right to unhindered publication, both in Yiddish and in other languages. The Bund has the right to address itself to the proletariat of other

The point in the Manifesto of the First Congress relating to the Bund is also unclear in that it does not answer the questions: in relation to whom is the organisation autonomous, who is autonomous, and autonomous on what questions?

If the organisation of the Jewish proletariat is autonomous in relation to the Party, that is, to its central organs, then this autonomy should apply to every section of the Party which also enjoys autonomy in its district affairs. In order to answer the second question (who is autonomous?) the sphere of activity of the Bund should have been defined. This was not done. And on this matter two propositions are possible: (1) some have said that the Bund should become a territorial organisation; (2) others have said that the Bund should work among the Jewish proletariat everywhere.

First and foremost, the question arises, why do we need to have an organisation for the Jewish proletariat? It could be justified, in the first place, by those particularly harsh legal conditions under which the entire Jewish proletariat lives, regardless of the language it speaks; secondly, by the fact that the relation of social forces in the Jewish

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nationalities only with the assent of the organs of the corresponding sections of the Party, and to the proletariat of the whole country only with the assent of the Central Committee of the Party.

*Note.* Other sections of the Party have the right to address the Jewish proletariat only with the assent of the Central Committee of the Bund.

*Article 9.* (a) The Bund has the right to enter into temporary agreements for practical undertakings with revolutionary organisations which do not belong to the Party, and no special ban on agreements with which has been imposed by Party congress or by the Party's Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Bund is to inform the Party's Central Committee of every such agreement. The publication of joint statements with non-Social-Democratic organisations is not permitted. (b) With special permission from the Party's Central Committee, the Bund has the right to enter into regular agreements with Social-Democratic organisations not belonging to the Party, for joint fulfilment of certain aspects of revolutionary work.

*Article 10.* The Party Congress has the right to cancel all decisions made by congresses of the Bund except decisions taken on the precise basis of the present constitution. If the Party's Central Committee regards any action by the CC of the Bund as being in contradiction to decisions taken by the general congresses of the Party, it has the right to demand explanations.

*Article 11.* In case of necessity the CC of the Party has the right to deal directly with particular sections of the Bund, but only with the assent of the CC of the Bund. The way in which such dealings are to be effected will be decided in each particular case by the CC of the Bund.

*Article 12.* All these points are to be considered as fundamental and can be changed, added to or cancelled only by mutual agreement between the sections of the Party.

*Note.* Local and district organisations are not to be counted as sections of the Party for this purpose.

nation is quite distinctive, in that, for example, there are no nobles, no landowners, and no peasants in it. And for this reason any notion of transforming the Bund into a territorial organisation (not to speak of the fact that we are in general against territorial organisations, since they lead to decentralisation) renders it pointless.

To base the need for a special organisation of the Jewish proletariat upon language is unthinkable. For in that case why should the Bund be autonomous? The question of language is a technical one, and it would be simple to set up a technical commission to deal with it.

Consequently, the sole condition determining the autonomous status of the Bund is the limits of the Jewish proletariat as such, taken as a whole. And we think that, in the Party, the Bund should occupy the position of representative of the Jewish proletariat. By this, however, we do not mean to say that other Social-Democratic organisations are not to work among the Jewish proletariat.

The question arises whether it is possible to delimit the range of questions in relation to which the organisation is to be autonomous. According to the Manifesto of the First Congress, 'the Bund is an organisation possessing autonomy in relation to questions concerning the Jewish proletariat'. What are these questions? Let us take, for example, the question of the legal position of the Jewish proletariat. Is this question not closely bound up with other political questions? And since this is so, then one of two possibilities exists: either the Bund is really autonomous, that is, it has complete freedom to discuss all questions, or the Central Committee is to take a highly rigorist line towards the Bund, confining its freedom within narrow bounds.

Here another question also arises: is the congress of the Bund the highest instance where questions concerning the Jewish proletariat are involved? To this question we answer 'no'. The Bund must possess competence on all questions, but there will be a higher institution checking on it.

The usual reply to this is that, if this is so, then why have an independent organisation for the Jewish proletariat? But those who ask that question forget that the Jewish proletariat is very much more strongly interested in the struggle against the exceptional restrictions which are imposed upon it than the rest of the proletariat is, and for this reason it is also a more active fighter against this oppression.

And so, by virtue of all the considerations mentioned, we do not find it possible to organise the Party on the principle of autonomy. What should be the relations between the different sections of the

Party? I say that they should be based on the principle of federation. One section of the Party should represent the totality of the Russian committees, while the other should be the Bund, organised as a separate Union. It is usually objected that these two sections are unequal, incommensurable, and so their unification on federal principles would be extremely difficult to arrange. In Austria, however, it has been found quite feasible to form a federal union of national Social-Democratic organisations on principles of equality. On grounds of principle we too could demand the same.

Our opponents think that federation and decentralisation are synonymous. This is not so. In our view there is no higher form of centralisation than federation. And it is quite untrue that autonomy is a more centralistic form than federation. The proletariat of a particular nation has a tendency towards centralism only when it looks to the centre for the solution of all its problems and, in particular, of its national needs. By building an autonomous organisation on the principle of separating these national needs from the centre, we thereby not only do away with its centralistic tendency but also divert it from those strivings which are common to the proletariat as a whole, and focus its attention on narrowly national questions and its own organisation. Such a separation of general questions from national ones is harmful. Federal organisation does away with this distinction and is therefore the best way of ensuring centralisation.

*Lieber* then proceeded to read the more detailed argument for the rules which had been drawn up by the Fifth Congress of the Bund.

*Martov (co-rapporteur)*: After the report we have just heard no-one can be in any doubt that the congress acted very wisely in putting the question of the Bund at the top of the agenda. As we have seen, there is a section of the Party which talks in terms of a treaty between two independent organisations — Jewish and non-Jewish. Formulating it like this is, in my view, much more precise than talking about mutual relations between different national organisations. The Fifth Congress of the Bund also engaged in drawing up a draft treaty between the Jewish proletariat and the rest of the proletariat of Russia. For the representatives of the Bund the present congress is, evidently, a constituent congress. And yet no longer ago than yesterday, when the matter before us was that of inviting the Polish comrades, they insisted that this was not a constituent congress but an ordinary one. I say that the representatives of the Bund see the present congress as a

constituent one, because they talk of a treaty between two sections of the Party, of which there can be no question at an ordinary congress, where only union with other parties can be discussed, but not a treaty between sections of the Party itself. Until lately the Bund was a section of the Party, and evidently regarded itself as such, since it took part in the Organising Committee, which recognised that the congress was an ordinary one and constituted a congress not of separate national organisations but of sections of the Party. Comrade Lieber said: 'We are not introducing changes but merely proposing rules. The First Party congress merely laid down the principle governing the relation between the Bund and the All-Russia Party, and now we are for the first time formulating rules.' That is true, and I am not going to deny it; but these rules which have been presented to us turn upside down the basis of Party organisation established by the 1898 congress. In the Manifesto of the First Congress it is quite precisely laid down that the organisations whose representatives were present there *merged* into a single organisation. The autonomy which was given to the Bund at the First Congress was not an exception, since such autonomy was given to all the committees, though within narrower limits.

The Fourth Congress of the Bund passed the resolution which we know.\* But this resolution did not contain the word 'future', which Comrade Lieber added when he quoted it. This word made its appearance only in 1903. In the letter from the Central Committee of the Bund to *Iskra* it was explained that the Bund intended presenting to the Party Congress this resolution about a federal structure for the Party. But when the question of convening the Congress became a practical one, the Bund comrades assembled in a Fifth Congress, re-worked the resolution of their Fourth Congress, and now talk to us about a treaty — that was the expression used by Comrade Lieber. And when we discussed the agenda, it was precisely on the question of the Bund that the comrades from the Bund saw themselves not as a free negotiating party, not as a separate, independent organisation, but as a section of the Party, and on this basis objected to the placing of this question on its own at the head of the agenda.

I do not consider it possible for the congress to undertake to examine the draft treaty which has been presented to us, and on which no preliminary discussion through the Party's organs has taken place.

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\* See Appendix IV.

And I will now show that the draft put before us is a treaty that we cannot and ought not to consider. Underlying this draft is the presupposition that the Jewish proletariat needs an independent political organisation to represent its national interests among the Social-Democrats of Russia. Independently of the question of organising the Party on the principle of federation or that of autonomy, we cannot allow that any section of the Party can represent the group, trade or national interests of any section of the proletariat. National differences play a subordinate role in relation to common class interests. What sort of organisation would we have if, for instance, in one and the same workshop, workers of different nationalities thought first and foremost of the representation of their national interests?

The particularly harsh legal conditions in which the Jewish proletariat has to live should not serve as a basis for separating it off; this fact can serve only as an argument for a wider degree of autonomy for the organisation which leads the struggle of the Jewish proletariat. However, wide autonomy has nothing in common with the principle of granting the right of representation to national organisations.

The Bund's situation is contradictory. But this does not compromise either the Bund or the Russian Party, since the contradiction was the result of a number of unfortunate historical circumstances. And this abnormal situation cannot be eliminated by means of one heroic resolution. We are well aware of this, but precisely for that reason we must not shut our eyes to this abnormal situation, we must not ignore it.

The notion that federation is the best means for ensuring centralisation, on which Comrade Lieber was so insistent, was not supported by any kind of proof. Comrade Lieber merely showed us that relations of autonomy can be and are abnormal.

I now turn to consider the Bund's proposed rules. Let us take Article 2. What would become of us if the field of action of each organisation making up the Party was to be unrestricted by any limits? But, according to the proposal of those who composed this draft, the field of activity of the Bund is to be bounded only by the frontier of the Russian Empire. If that were permitted, the organisation of the Party would not even be federal in character.

Then, Article 3. It would have been more consistent to apply this norm to all sections of our Party. If it is inadmissible for the representatives of the Jewish proletariat to be overborne by the majority then, clearly, this is likewise inadmissible in the case of the Kiev, Peters-

burg or any other committee. Then it would be necessary for the Central Committee to be made up of representatives of all the organisations, and to be transformed into an institution very similar to the Polish Sejm, in which the veto of any one member could disqualify the Sejm from taking a particular decision.

Article 5 runs counter to all endeavours to centralise the Party. Making the CC of the Bund a barrier between the CC of the Party and local Party groups means bringing terrible disorganisation into the Party. And, again, consistency would require that this norm be applied to all sections of the Party. What would happen then?

Article 12 says very plainly that what we have before us is a treaty, since, if we accept these rules, we can only suggest modifications in them, which would have to be introduced by agreement with the Bund, but we are not allowed to delete any points.

These are the rules which have been put before us. And so, before proceeding to discuss them, before deciding on the relation of the Bund to the Party, we need to get an answer to this question: with whom are we dealing, with a section of the Party or with a free negotiating party which has offered us a treaty, in relation to which we too are a free negotiating party?

I will now explain the resolution I have presented.\* In the first point we stress that the solution of all political and social questions is

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\* Martov's resolution: 'Considering: (a) that the closest unity of the Jewish proletariat with the proletariat of those races amidst which it lives is absolutely necessary in the interests of its struggle for political and economic liberation; (b) that only such very close unity guarantees success for the Social-Democrats in the struggle against all forms of chauvinism and anti-semitism; and (c) that such unity in no way rules out independence for the Jewish workers' movement in all matters concerned with special tasks of agitation among the Jewish population which arise from differences in language and living conditions — the Second Congress of the RSDLP expresses its profound conviction that restructuring the organisational relations between the Jewish proletariat and the Russian proletariat on federal lines would constitute a substantial obstacle in the way of fuller organisational rapprochement between conscious proletarians of different races, and would inevitably do enormous harm to the interests of the proletariat generally and of the Jewish proletariat of Russia in particular; and, therefore, emphatically rejecting as absolutely inadmissible in principle any possibility of federal relations between the RSDLP and the Bund, as a component section of the Party, the congress resolves that the Bund occupies, within the united RSDLP, the position of an autonomous component, the limits to its autonomy to be defined when the general Party rules are elaborated. In view of the above, the congress, regarding the "Rules" proposed by the Bund delegates as a draft for a section of the general Party rules, defers discussion of the draft until Point 6 of the agenda, and proceeds to next business.'

possible only if we have the closest unity of the entire proletariat. In the second point we repeat what was said at the international congress in Brussels in 1891. In the third point it is stated that a certain degree of independence for the organisation of the Jewish proletariat is in no way excluded. But the widening of the autonomy of the Bund is motivated not by national demands but merely by the conveniences of revolutionary agitation. Finally, we say in conclusion that we reject any attempt to restructure the Party on federal principles, as erecting an obstacle to further rapprochement between the Jewish and the Russian proletariats.

*Trotsky:* I think it not without value to add to the resolution moved by Comrade Martov that this resolution is signed by Jewish comrades who, working in the All-Russia Party, have considered and consider themselves also to be representatives of the Jewish proletariat.<sup>3</sup>

*Lieber:* Among whom they have never worked.

*Trotsky:* I request that both my statement and Comrade Lieber's exclamation be entered in the minutes.

*Lieber:* I ask that it be recorded in the minutes that the chairman did not stop Comrade Trotsky when by his statement he committed a gross piece of tactlessness.

*Chairman:* No special entry in the minutes is called for, since it will be obvious from them anyway that I did not stop Comrade Trotsky.

*Lieber:* I insist on this being entered in the minutes.

*Chairman:* Then be so good as to submit your statement in writing to the Bureau.

*Lieber* presented a statement which read as follows. 'I take note that the chairman did not stop Comrade Trotsky when he mentioned that the persons who introduced the resolution belonged to the Jewish nationality, thereby committing a gross violation of tact and turning the entire dispute on this question into a matter of national passions.'

[*Recess.*]

*Chairman:* Before continuing with the session I must give the congress an explanation. I have already had the honour to bring it to the notice of Comrade Lieber that the chairman must indeed check a



speaker when the latter makes a tactless observation. But the judge in these cases is the chairman himself, and not any individual member of the assembly. As chairman, I saw nothing tactless in Comrade Trotsky's statement. What was tactless in it? The fact that he mentioned his own Jewish origin, or the fact that, having mentioned this, he said that he regarded himself as a representative of the Jewish proletariat too? As for making the dispute a matter of national passions, if this innocent statement by Comrade Trotsky can stir national passions, then it is clear that these passions are very close to constituting national fanaticism.

And I had no right to presume the existence of national fanaticism in any of those present here. But since, through the insistence of Comrade Lieber, I see that my conduct has met with disapproval, I submit this matter to the congress, for discussion, and for my part I propose that it express to the presidium that confidence without which it is impossible for us to continue in session.

*Akimov:* said that there was no reason to create an incident, and that Comrade Lieber's statement should be treated as a private comment.

*Stein:* I do not think Trotsky's remark was gross tactlessness. It was merely out of place . . .

*Chairman:* We are not discussing Comrade Trotsky's remark, but the question of confidence in the presidium.

*Lieber:* My statement relates not to the conduct of the chairman but to the question whether Comrade Trotsky's statement was tactless or not.

*Akimov* moved the following resolution: 'Having heard Comrade Lieber's comment on Comrade Trotsky's speech, and the Chairman's explanation, the congress passes to next business.'

*Lange* and *Muravyov* moved the following resolution: 'In connection with Comrade Lieber's statement, the congress votes its confidence in the Bureau and passes to next business.'

*Both resolutions were voted on. Comrade Akimov's resolution was rejected. The resolution moved by Comrades Lange and Muravyov was passed, all the delegates voting for it except five who abstained.*

*The session was closed.*

## Fifth Session

*(42 delegates with 51 deciding votes present,  
and 8 with consultative votes.)*

*The minutes of the second session were read and confirmed.*

*The debate on Point 2 of the agenda was then resumed.*

**Karsky:**<sup>1</sup> Lack of time prevents me from dealing with several points in Comrade Lieber's report to which I should have liked to offer objections. I shall speak only about the following propositions put forward by the comrades from the Bund.

The Bund seeks not only to be the representative of that section of the Jewish proletariat which lives in a particular part of the country and speaks Yiddish, but to be the sole representative of the entire Jewish proletariat, as such and as a whole. Thus, the field of activity of the Bund is to be: everywhere that a worker is living who belongs to the Jewish nationality. This is the fundamental proposition advanced and upheld by the Bund. This is a nationalist attitude, not a socialist one. The Bund does not base itself on technical conditions and it takes no account of the fact that Jews live in different parts of Russia, that large country, and speak different languages. No, all that is without importance for the Bund. The question is settled so far as the Bund is concerned by the mere fact that a section of the proletariat belongs to the Jewish nationality. I am reminded of the utopian project of a certain Armenian who proposed to unite in a single Armenian Social-Democratic Party the Armenian proletariat living in America, in Caucasia, in Turkey, in Persia, and so on. This Armenian was a consistent socialist-nationalist, but in the case of the Bund we cannot observe such consistency.

I am amazed at the Bund's demand to establish a sort of state within the state. After all, we Georgians, Armenians and so on do not demand special Georgian, Armenian, etc., organisations, and yet this

does not prevent us from working in the RSDLP, and working successfully, as recent history shows: we are thoroughly uprooting all national prejudices in Caucasia.

*Rusov:* It is my lot to work in one of the outlying areas where conditions in respect of variety in the racial composition of the population are similar to those in which the Bund works. I mention with pleasure the fact that in our area no organisational separatism exists, whatsoever, such as the Bund has displayed so strongly in recent times. In all of our towns there are Party Committees, working in several languages — three, so far (Russian, Georgian, and Armenian), and where necessary also in a fourth (Tatar).<sup>2</sup> And yet no inconveniences have resulted from this, and the progress of the movement in Caucasia has not been hindered by it. It seems to me that the tendency which is now predominant in the Bund has nothing in common with socialism. The existence of a special Jewish organisation in the Party of the proletariat, mistakenly permitted by the First Congress, and which had, perhaps, some historical justification, has led to very undesirable results. Without denying the services rendered by the Bund in organising the Jewish proletariat, I find it a serious omission on the part of the Party that there are still no Party committees in the West working in all languages. And this situation which exists today has for its sole explanation the mistake made by the First Congress. Work is carried on there among the Jews, but the Poles, Lithuanians, Letts and Russians remain outside the sphere of Party agitation. That is an abnormal situation. I shall try to show that the resolution of the First Congress had no foundation, except, perhaps, an historical one — i.e., the fact that a strong Jewish organisation existed already before the unification of the Party. There can be two sorts of reasons for a separate organisation to exist: technical reasons (language, territory) and reasons of principle (different political tasks). Let us consider the first of these. In different places the Jewish population speak different languages (Polish, Georgian, Tatar) and so a single organisation for the Jewish proletariat is not needed. Finally, we know of organisations in which agitation is carried on in several languages. As regards reference to territory, this argument is repudiated by the Bund itself, as having no relevance to the case of the Jewish proletariat. So, then, it is not a question here of technical conditions.

Let us now consider the reasons of principle: the special legal

position of Jews, antisemitism, the restrictive laws against the Jews — these are what are always quoted to us. But exceptional laws exist which apply not only to the Jews but also to other minorities in Russia. This exceptional situation as an oppressed nationality, which provides a great deal of material for agitation, does not serve as a sufficient reason for forming an independent organisation. I think that this is not enough for the establishment of a separate national organisation. If there are favourable conditions for political agitation, every keen and worthy revolutionary is duty bound to make use of these factors for agitation. If I were to find myself in the Pale of Settlement<sup>3</sup> then I would, no less than the Bund, carry on agitation in which I would make use of the special legal position of the Jews. If we were to be guided by such considerations, we would have to form special organisations for the sectaries, for all the minorities, and so on, and this would contribute not to the unity of the Party but to its disintegration. Why, for example, can the Vilna Committee, working among all the proletarians of that town, like the committees in Caucasia, not carry on intense agitation on the basis of the special legal situation of the Jews? The whole proletariat of Russia is just as interested as the Jewish proletariat in abolishing the restrictive laws. That is why this demand is one which is common to the whole proletariat and not peculiar to the Jews. All the Russian comrades have hitherto always looked on the comrades from the Bund as good practical workers. I address myself to them as good practical workers: ought they not to admit that the existence in one and the same town of two different organisations, however closely these may be linked, must lead in time of struggle to undesirable delays and complications? The historical conditions call for quick decisions, but here they have to proceed by way of seeking agreement with each other. Finally, this has a harmful effect on propaganda, obscuring the class character of the struggle with a national element.\*

Another reason of principle for the existence of a special organisation of the Jewish proletariat showed through in the speech by the comrade rapporteur. He kept talking of the Bund as the representative of the Jewish proletariat in the Party. Such special representation would have sense if we were to accept the notion that the interests of

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\* At this point Comrade Rusov was interrupted by the Chairman, as his time had run out, but the congress decided to let him continue.

the Jewish proletariat are, even if only on one point, in contradiction with those of the proletarians of the other nationalities of Russia. I think that there is no such contradiction, and there can be none, provided that we are speaking from a class standpoint and not a national one. I consider that every Party member is a representative of the entire proletariat of all Russia. If we are to recognise each delegate as being a representative of a national group of the proletariat, then I shall have to regard myself as representing the Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Tatar and Jewish proletariat living in Caucasia; but I willingly renounce this long title in favour of the flattering description of 'representative of the proletariat of all Russia'. As is clear from all that I have said, I stand for the type of organisation by which in every town and in every district there would be a single Party organisation, carrying on agitation in whatever languages are required. But, taking account of the historical conditions which have brought about the special position of the Bund, I am obliged to give my support to Comrade Martov's resolution. [*Applause.*]

*Kostich:* Proceeding (1) from the point in the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Bund that 'the congress considers that the concept of nationality applies to the Jewish people as well' and (2) from the idea that Jewish national culture can develop freely only in a state constructed on principles of national autonomy, the Bund considers that the latter can be achieved only if it stands in a federal relationship with the RSDLP. Without touching on the question of the national culture of the Jews (though I see this in quite a different light from the Bund), I think that achievement of the essentials of the Bund's demand can be fully expressed in a political structure which guarantees all those rights which are mentioned in *Iskra's* draft programme. These essentials will not be obtained by the Bund through a federal relationship with the Party, but only if there is no federalism, only if the Bund is completely united with the RSDLP. In my view, the Bund can regard itself, in accordance with the common programme, as the sole bearer of freedom for the Jewish proletariat from the specific oppression it suffers only if the following three practical considerations are present. Let us suppose that this revolutionary Social-Democratic movement fails to fight seriously for certain demands in its programme, that it fails to summon the proletariat with all its strength to fight for these demands. Given a situation like that, revolutionary Social-Democracy would not be fully conscious, and

then the Bund ought not to stand aloof from it, but rather ought to merge as closely as possible with it, striving to raise it to the high level of class consciousness on which the Bund itself stands. Not federation, but unity.

It could be that though we summon the workers to fight for these demands, they are accepted so reluctantly by the non-Jewish masses of the workers, the latter are so remote from these demands, that the democratic constitution which we establish is deficient precisely in relation to these demands. But federation will not cure this evil, it will only increase it, by isolating the non-Jews from the Jews and estranging them from one another through the specific Bundist agitation which is the basis of federation. Only complete unity makes it possible for the class consciousness of the proletariat to develop in this respect.

There remains the last of these imaginary situations. Both the revolutionary Social-Democrats and the proletariat led by them fight with all their strength for the demands set out above, but they do not succeed in winning them. However, I think that the Bundists' scheme of federation is not likely to win them.

I mentioned earlier the harm done to the cause of the development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat by the Bundist agitation, in that it is inseparably connected with the federal principle which the Bund advocates. I have been able to see evidence of this harm in Odessa, where a Bundist organisation was set up a few months ago. The Bund justified its establishment by claiming that the Odessa Committee was not meeting the demands of the Jewish workers' movement. The Bund conceived these demands in a special sense, not in the spirit of the Manifesto of the First Congress, since the Odessa Committee had been up to that time carrying on an intense agitation, along those lines, among the Jews. Indeed, only two years ago the Odessa Committee was being reproached for giving its exclusive attention to work among the Jews. The Bundist group appeared and its agitation soon assumed the form of asserting 'we Jews must rely on our own strength, unite in a Jewish organisation', and so on. This type of agitation will be inevitable if there is federation, and it is, in my opinion and in that of the comrade agitators, both Jews and non-Jews, something which runs counter to the only sort of agitation which Social-Democrats should carry on where the national question is concerned: there is 'neither Jew nor Greek' in the revolutionary Social-Democratic movement. Holding this view, I wholeheartedly support Martov's resolution. As regards the incident with Trotsky, I

consider the latter's statement entirely pertinent, since I have often had it said to me when I have voiced my idea about the harmfulness of federation: 'you are not a Jew', and so forth. A similar attitude towards opponents of the federal principle is also apparent in the pamphlet: *On the Question of National Autonomy*.<sup>4</sup>

*Lange:* After Comrade Martov's detailed speech and what previous speakers have said, I have not much to say. I only want to point out the attitude which is adopted by certain Jewish groups among the workers towards the proletariat of other nationalities and towards the Social-Democrats working in the Bund's area. I have had some experience of this attitude, acquired in various localities of North Russia. What I have noticed is that there are groups of Jewish workers, among whom we almost always find Bundist workers in leading positions, who take up a very special attitude, showing little interest in anything that goes on among the proletariat of other nationalities. Social-Democratic workers always have considerable difficulty in seeking them out and making contact with them, and always need to struggle hard and long in order to draw them out of their state of national isolation. Significant here is, undoubtedly, the bias which the leaders of these groups, former Bundists, have acquired under the influence of the education they received when they were in the Bund. It is obvious that such consequences of Bundist education (resulting from the fundamentals of their party rules) cannot facilitate the cause of the victory of the proletariat (either Russian or Jewish) over its common foe. Besides, I am not clear whether the committee in a place where a small group of Jewish workers of this sort exists has the right to enter into dealings with them and give leadership to them without the knowledge of the Central Committee of the Bund. From the point in the rules of the Bund's Fifth Congress which was read to us here by Comrade Lieber it follows that the committee does not have this right, though that contradicts all the fundamentals of our programme, and ordinary common sense into the bargain. So long as the Bund is unwilling to treat the national question as secondary, friction is inevitable.

*Martynov:* We Social-Democrats must be guided by the principle set forth in the Communist Manifesto: 'In the struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, the Communists single out and fight for the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality.' The Bund, judging by the draft rules which have

been presented to us, 'singles out and fights for' the national interests of a particular proletariat. It works for the national isolation of the Jewish proletariat. I shall not spend a long time proving the truth of this statement, but merely refer to the places in their draft in which it is plainly revealed. [*Reads passages from Articles 2, 3, 10, 11 and 12 of the Bund resolution.*] Given the fact that this is the character of the Bund's proposed rules, I fully concur with the resolution moved by Comrade Martov; but I regard it as inadequate. We must combat the Bund's harmful tendency towards national isolation of the Jewish proletariat, but we are not against the Bund in general. We value its great historical services and do not wish to break up this force which has been shaped by history — we only want to subordinate it to the Party. This ought to be said in the resolution.

*Abramson:* The comrade from Odessa described the activity of the Bund to us in strange and 'fearful' form. We Bundists were said to bring discord everywhere, to be separatists, nationalists, and so on. In support of his statements he quoted to us various anecdotes about Bundist agitators making some dreadful speeches at certain meetings, and then referred to his private conversations with certain Bundists. In so far as he thought it necessary to operate at this congress with 'facts' of that order, it is not worth my replying to him. Really to define the role played by the Bund it would be necessary to go into its history, into the history of the All-Russia revolutionary Social-Democratic movement, of which the comrade from Odessa has only a very vague notion. I am not going to expound our history here, except to recall such well-known facts as the participation of the Bund in the convening of the *First Congress* of the RSDLP and in the last Party Conference, which was held *last year*, and which gave us the idea of the Organising Committee.

The Bund is accused of preaching distrust of the non-Jewish proletariat. This charge is based on the fact that it organises the Jewish proletariat *separately*. In this connection, one comrade here described as a 'regrettable mistake' the fact that at the Party's First Congress the Bund was given autonomous status. It is unnecessary to answer such a charge.

Comrade Martov said that the very formation of the Bund arose from abnormal conditions. From this we can conclude that now, when conditions have become normal, the Bund has lost its *raison d'être*. I would ask Comrade Martov to explain what criterion he uses



to define normal historical conditions. Does he consider that even today, for instance, we are living in normal conditions?

Some speakers objected to Article 2 of our rules that it excludes the possibility of anyone apart from the Bund working among the Jewish proletariat. This view is based on a misunderstanding. In demanding that the Bund be the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat in the Party we are not in the least saying that nobody else shall dare to work among the Jewish workers. We merely lay it down that the Bund is the only organisation which works exclusively among the Jewish proletariat, and therefore it must be recognised as possessing the right to be the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat. Comrade Martov, after analysing all the points in our rules, came to the conclusion that what showed through them all was the concept of a treaty, and he would not accept this. My comrade in our delegation has already said, and I now repeat this, that we are putting the rules before you not as an ultimatum but as a basis for discussion, point by point — a discussion in the course of which some points may be modified at this congress.

*Lyadov (giving an illustration of the Bund's tactics):* At a meeting held in Berlin for the purpose of protesting against the events in Kishinev, the members of the Bund who were present tried to turn this meeting for common protest into an exclusively Jewish occasion.

*Rusov:* I take the floor to defend myself against certain attacks made by the comrades from the Bund. Neither I nor any of the comrades who have spoken referred to the Bund as a harmful organisation, and nobody sought to belittle the importance of the Bund in the Party. I merely pointed to an undesirable consequence that has followed from the decision of the First Congress: instead of having, in the West of Russia, organisations of a single Party, working in all the local languages, we have propaganda carried on exclusively in Yiddish. That is what I regard as an abnormal thing — and that alone. Moreover, the fact that a Bundist committee was formed in Odessa confirmed my idea that organisational separatism exists: the Bund established a committee of its own in Odessa on the grounds that the local Party committee does not satisfy the requirements of the Jewish proletariat, that is, it does not carry on sufficient agitation and propaganda among the Jewish masses. The natural conclusion to draw from this situation would have been to ask the local committee to admit to its ranks a group of one's own energetic workers. That is an approach very different from setting up a committee of one's own. The comrade

from the Bund said that it is not that the Russian comrades have anything against work among the Jews, but that 'in actual fact they cannot do it'. I think this is quite untrue. To carry on our Party work it is necessary, first, to be a Social-Democrat, and, secondly, to know the local language, or, if one doesn't know it, to have an interpreter. And for this there is no need for any special national organisation to exist. I find that the existence of the Bund has given rise to separatism. The strength of the Bund does not give it the right to live exclusively for the Jewish proletariat. I would ask the comrade from the Bund to explain to me why it is possible in Caucasia for Russian comrades and comrades of other nationalities to work together in a single organisation. Our Central Committee is not, according to the Bund's rules, to be the supreme institution: in it the opinions of members of various organisations, and not simply of Party members, are to be represented. Among the Bundists there are experienced practical workers who can enter the Central Committee — not, though, as members of the Bund, but as experienced revolutionaries. The place of a central organ is to be taken, according to the Bund's rule, by a federal parliament.

*Orlov:* In complete agreement with what the comrade from Baku has said, I want to mention the harmful consequences that have resulted from the Bund's attempts to set up its own committees in South Russia. As an example I will take a case of this kind which occurred fairly recently in Yekaterinoslav. In that town, as you know, agitation and propaganda have long been carried on among the Jewish craftsmen. So far back as 1896 planned activity in that direction is recorded. During the whole of this period we know of no complaints and no expressions of discontent on the part of the Jewish proletariat regarding unsatisfactory defence of their interests or unsatisfactory conduct of agitation, in the sense of ignoring the legal oppression to which they are subject. The Jewish comrades have worked hand in hand with the Russians; together they have fought against exploitation by capital, together they have made their protest against the existing order, against political tyranny. Community of interests and the same state of economic dependence have been the bond linking the urban craftsmen with the factory proletariat. It never occurred to anyone that the Jewish proletariat had special interests which it did not share with the proletariat as a whole. I repeat, the committee never received any complaints on that score, and it seems that there was

nothing for the Bund to do here, even following the resolution of its Fourth Congress. But our comrades from the Bund did not see the matter in that light. A few months ago, a representative of the Bund arrived in Yekaterinoslav for the particular purpose of setting up a Bundist committee there. It must be mentioned that all this was done informally, but that has been the way with the Bund's tactics in recent times: the ground is first prepared and then, when some organised group already exists, they emerge as a committee. It is understood that in Yekaterinoslav, as generally in the South of Russia, given the previously mentioned circumstances, agitation in favour of separating off the Jewish proletariat into a special organisation has to be carried on in the spirit of the existence of special interests of the Jewish proletariat which are to be defended by means of a sufficiently solid organisation consisting exclusively of Jewish workers.

This agitation aroused a storm of indignation among the advanced workers, both Jewish and non-Jewish: they pointed out that activity such as this would stir up distrust and national hatred between members of one and the same family; that this division of forces would lead to a weakening of the movement; that the Jewish workers had no special interests, and so on. When I was present at a mass meeting of workers I had to reply to the question why a separate organisation for the Jews was needed. After all, the workers said, we have worked together for a long time without feeling any inconvenience, but only benefit, from doing so, and now suddenly it is said that we must split up, the Jews being organised separately from the non-Jews. Why is this necessary? Why, in general, does the Bund exist? I was put in an awkward position: on the one hand, I knew the rules of 1898, by which the Bund had been given autonomy in relation to questions concerning the Jewish proletariat, that is, autonomy of a purely technical kind (questions of agitation and propaganda): this autonomy was conditioned by the fact that the Bund had to work among a proletariat speaking only Yiddish and living in distinctive circumstances. The title: 'General Jewish Workers' Union in Russia and Poland' does not itself proclaim that the area of activity of this organisation is unlimited, since in it there is, for example, no mention of the principal area where the Bund is active, namely, Lithuania.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, Lithuania is here embraced by the word 'Russia'. On the other hand, Bundist Committees exist in the South of Russia. So, if I were to explain the expediency and legitimacy of the existence of the Bund on the basis that it is a special organisation for work in Lithuania

and Poland, then it could have no business in Russia. The entire Yekaterinoslav Committee was put in this embarrassing position. There was nothing to be done but to speak out sharply and openly against the separatist tendencies of the Bund and its national programme. A decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the committee, where it was decided to hold mass meetings at which the question of nationalism and internationalism would be explained, and then a statement made regarding the national programme of the Bund and its principle of federation. Fortunately, for certain reasons we did not have to do this. I say 'fortunately', because the Bundists' attempt suffered defeat without any need for this. The Yekaterinoslav comrades, it turned out, understood the interests of the Jewish proletariat better than the leaders of the Bund did.

Passing now to the question of the Bund's place in the Party, I, of course, deny absolutely both the possibility of enlarging the field of activity of the Bund, without damage to the Party, and the need for this. But at the same time I dispute on general grounds the need for a separate Jewish organisation to exist. We know, after all, that the Bund has recently started to work also among workers of other nationalities — Russians, Poles, Letts, and so on. To be logical, the Bund ought to have separated off these groups into special committees, since the Bund exists as an organisation for defending the interests of and representing the Jewish proletariat, according to its own claims. The existence of two committees would lead to everlasting disputes and disagreements which would weaken the movement of the proletariat of Russia. For us, as upholders of the idea of centralism, it is unnecessary to demonstrate the harm that can ensue from the existence in one town of two centres of leadership. In the light of all this I propose that a territorial union be set up in the area of Poland and Lithuania, which could be called the 'North-Western Union of the RSDLP'. The Bund would enter this territorial organisation as one of its sections. In every town we should have only one committee of this Union, which would work among the proletariat of all nationalities. This would give the work of our Party a planned character and would radically solve the so-called question of the Bund. It would also solve the question of our attitude to a possible unification with the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania. The Social-Democratic movement of Poland and Lithuania would also enter this organisation, as a group working in the same territory. In thus explaining my view on the so-called question of the Bund, I have

made it clear that I am sharply opposed to the rules presented by the Bund's Fifth Congress, and I support Martov's motion.

*Brouckère:* It seems to me that the 'logical illogicality' by virtue of which discussion of the place of the Bund in the Party was put at the head of our agenda has already made itself apparent. The congress decides that it cannot enter into any treaty with the Bund as a distinct 'negotiating party' and yet it discusses this treaty, and analyses it. On the other hand, though the Bund declares that its rules do not constitute a treaty put forward on behalf of one side, its proposal relates only to the Bund, as to a special section, differing from all other sections of the Party, and its rules are put forward as rules only for itself, only for the Bund. I cannot accept the federal principle of organisation, but if the Bund had put forward a general plan of Party organisation, and this had been marked by the democratic tendency with which the Bund's own organisation is permeated, with the principle of representation of all districts of the Party, I should have supported it, for the sake of this tendency and this principle. The Bund cites, as its only argument for the need to organise the Jewish proletariat separately, the special character of the latter's legal situation. I think that it is just this special legal situation that ought to make us seek the closest rapprochement between the Jewish proletariat and the proletariat of other nations. For the Jewish proletariat, which is specially oppressed in regard to its national interests, the need to assert its national rights has matured and, moreover, this is fully understood by it, and therefore joint work by this proletariat with the proletariat of other nations will help awareness of the need for social rights to grow among the latter as well.

*Lieber:* I note that what we are discussing here is the question whether an independent organisation of the Jewish proletariat is needed. A strange question has been raised — is the Bund needed at all? Such a question can be raised now, in the sixth year since the foundation of the Bund, after it has played such an outstanding role in the history of our Party, only by persons who have forgotten their kindred. [*The chairman asks the speaker to calm down.*] I am amazed to hear the history of the Bund described in such a way here. When the Bund arose the Jewish labour movement presented an impressive picture. A revolutionary wave swept over the whole area in which the Jewish proletariat lives. The Bund transformed pariahs into a huge

revolutionary force, but our comrades did not see this. With bitterness I must say that the Government appreciated the results of our work better than our own comrades. Let them prove to us that the tactics of the Bund contradict the principles of international socialism. If we spoke in terms of a Party of the Jewish proletariat, we were not in such bad company. Rosa Luxemburg and the *Vorstand*<sup>6</sup> of the German Social-Democratic Party also used the expression: 'Party of the Polish Proletariat'. The comrade from Caucasia told us that the Bund is nationalistic because it seeks to organise separately the workers of one nationality. On the question of organisation Rosa Luxemburg proposes that the organisation of the Polish Social-Democrats should concern itself with all matters relating to all Polish workers living in Germany. The comrade from Caucasia is afraid that the Bund, in seeking to organise the Jewish proletariat, may not be confined by territorial limits and may soon even cross the borders of the Russian Empire. Oh, what a terrible thing that would be!

We are told that, wherever the Bund works, it works in a nationalistic way. How is it possible for the comrade from Caucasia to forget all the manifestations of solidarity shown by the Jewish proletariat? Finally, in some towns the Bund works even among Christians.

*Trotsky*: I listened with astonishment to Comrade Lieber's statement that we wish to destroy the Bund. What does he mean? That we want to destroy those physical individuals who belong to the Bund organisation? That we want to destroy the fruitful work in developing the consciousness of the Jewish proletariat which the Bund is doing and which Comrade Lieber emphasised? Or that we want to 'destroy' the Bund only in the special form of its position in the Party?<sup>7</sup>

The Bund, as the sole representative of the interests of the Jewish proletariat in the Party and before the Party — or the Bund as a special Party organisation for agitation and propaganda among the Jewish proletariat? That is how the question can be put. And, if one acknowledges the need for the Bund to exist independently in this second sense, it is possible for it to enter the Party as a subordinate organisation possessing a defined sphere of independence within the limits of the task assigned to it. In that case there can be no question of special safeguards for the Bund against encroachments by the Party. Yet it is just safeguards that the Bund wants to establish. This is quite openly expressed in the celebrated Article 12 of the rules which have been put before us. It is nothing but distrust of the Party as a whole given the

form of a rule. The constitution of our Party can, according to the project presented to us by the Bund comrades, be changed not in the usual way, by a vote of the majority, but by agreement between *the interested parties* so that, as the rapporteur put it, we would not be able at subsequent congresses to suppress the Bund, that is, 'the interests of the Jewish proletariat'. If the Bund, lacking confidence in the Party, is by this embodiment of 'the idea of a fourth estate' demanding safeguards, that we can understand. But how can we put our signatures to this demand? It would mean restricting our freedom, and the freedom of our successors, to make decisions. And why? So as to prevent suppression of the legitimate interests of the Jewish proletariat by the Party, that is, in order to insure ourselves against committing an act of betrayal. To accept such conditions would mean that we acknowledged our own moral and political bankruptcy, it would mean committing moral and political suicide. The congress will not do that.

Comrade Martynov found Martov's resolution inadequate, as it does not define the future position of the Bund. But that is not its task. Its only task is categorically to reject the treaty (federal) principle as the principle of Party organisation. Therefore, I support it. After rejecting federation we are left with the task of working out a form of existence for the Bund as a section within a united party. This we shall do when we discuss Party organisation. We reject the federal principle, although Comrade Lieber said in his first speech, and repeated in his second, that federation is the highest form of centralism. He produced no evidence for this on either occasion, and yet such evidence would not be superfluous. If I were to assert that the Romanov bureaucracy is the highest form of existence of republican liberties I should be uttering a paradox no greater than Comrade Lieber's. Inside each of a set of *federated organisations* (parties) the principle of centralism can, of course, prevail. But a *united*, centralised party does, of course, mean that internal federalism is ruled out.

A few words regarding the incident caused by my statement this morning about Martov's resolution. Comrade Stein said that my statement was 'out-of-place', but he did not manage to explain why, as his own speech proved to be 'out-of-place' in the debate and was cut short by the chairman. Comrade Lieber called my statement a piece of gross tactlessness. What had I said? To the Bund's claim to the role of sole representative of the Jewish proletariat I replied by pointing out

that many comrades who have worked and are working among the Jewish workers do not belong to the Bund, and yet regard themselves as being, for all that, no less representatives of the Jewish proletariat, as a proletariat. I mentioned that these comrades are Jews. Why? So as to block the favourite argument of Bund publicists — a poverty-stricken argument — that opponents of the Bund's position know nothing about the psychology of the 'Jewish proletariat'. Where was the gross tactlessness in that?

But Comrade Lieber shouted out that these Jews have never worked among the Jewish proletariat. Does this mean that he was casting doubt on the correctness of what I had said? Of course not. Such a supposition would be too insulting to Comrade Lieber. One is left to assume that work among the Jewish proletariat which is not carried out under the supervision of the Bund is not classed as work by Comrade Lieber. I suggest that he himself elucidate this misunderstanding.

In reply to Comrade Lieber's attacks on the agenda we have adopted I must say that I, on the contrary, consider that this agenda was the best possible. True, the question of 'the place of the Bund in the Party', put before us as the first point on the agenda, was necessarily complicated by historical allusions and discussions on programme and tactics. But this was not due to the agenda but to the very nature of the question. If we had postponed it till after our consideration of programme and tactics, the complications of this question would not have been eliminated. These complications would have affected all our work on programmatic, tactical and organisational questions in a concealed, and therefore *illegitimate* fashion. By settling the radical difference between us we are freeing our hands for our subsequent tasks.

To conclude. Where the Party is to confine the Bund to a definite area or to recognise it as an All-Russia organisation for propaganda and agitation in the Yiddish language, in either case the Bund must be a subordinate section of the Party, and not a 'party to negotiations'. The rules, drawn up by the Fifth Congress of the Bund, which have been presented to us, have as their function, as a comrade neatly put it to me in conversation, to raise a wall between us and the Bund and strew the top of this wall with broken glass. The congress must speak out unanimously against the erection of this wall.

*Muraviov*: I fully agree with Comrade Trotsky that such statements



as that 'there is no higher form of centralisation than federation' need to be not just uttered but proved. Also, I hope that Comrade Lieber is now quite clear about the difference between the concepts 'autonomy' and 'federation'. In view of the fact that the question now awaiting decision by the congress amounts to the question 'autonomy or federation?' I think I should explain what I understand to be their respective meanings. Autonomy assumes that the several autonomous sections of a whole are absolutely subordinate to this whole. Contrariwise, the form of unity known as federation is characterised by the fact that the mutual relations between the sections composing it can be altered only by consent of all the several sections. It is time to start calling things by their right names. The draft treaty laid before us by the delegates of the Bund is in fact a plan for re-structuring the Party on federal principles. The congress's mind is now, it seems to me, sufficiently made up for us, perhaps, to be able to take a vote on the question. The delegates of the Bund have up to now expressed themselves very inadequately and indefinitely on the presuppositions of principle which have moved them to defend the need for their 'project', and which have been analysed adequately only by their opponents. Thus, for example, we should very much like to know what Comrade Lieber meant by the words: 'the relation of social forces in the Jewish nation is quantitatively different from what it is in other nationalities'. Again, according to the same speaker, the distinctive language spoken by the Jewish proletariat 'facilitates technical work only, and autonomy is not needed for that'. Also left unanswered by the delegates of the Bund was the argument of their opponents that the exceptional position of the Jews with regard to their status as citizens of Russia cannot provide an argument for the Bund to be separated off, in a federal relationship with the Party. In exactly the same way, according to Comrade Lieber, the territorial conditions in which the Jewish proletariat live cannot provide a basis for a demand for autonomy, since from that point of view every local organisation ought to be as autonomous as the Bund. Finally, there is Comrade Lieber's phrase that 'there are no questions in the organisational sphere that would not affect the Jewish proletariat, and so it is autonomous in all organisational questions' — this phrase in particular because it was expressed in so general a form as to be meaningless. From what I have said it follows that it is very desirable that the delegates of the Bund should explain in detail their views on the question of federation, from the standpoint of principle.

*Stepanov:* Comrades, I have allowed myself to make use of my right to speak. But, as the comrade from Baku has said everything that can be said on this matter from the practical angle, it is left to me to give you just a few personal observations. I am a representative of the Kiev organisation and I have become convinced by personal experience of the damage caused by separating off the Jewish proletariat. In order to smooth over the effects of this separation, the Kiev Committee has recently taken a number of measures to unite the craftsmen's organisations, which consist of Jews, with the factory organisations, which are purely Russian. The stumbling block in the way of such unification was interference by the Bund. The Bund thought it necessary to interfere because, they said, the Kiev Committee was not giving satisfaction to the needs of the Jewish proletariat.

This was clearly conveyed by the representative whom the Central Committee of the Bund formally despatched to Kiev, and who was told by the Kiev Committee that the CC of the Bund was violating the decision of the First Party Congress. This decision says that the Bund cannot, as an independent organisation, carry on revolutionary work in localities where an organisation of the mixed variety already exists. This did not stop the representative of the CC of the Bund, and there is now an organisation of the Bund in Kiev — not formally, to be sure, but it does exist. What the results of its work may be I do not know, but I am profoundly convinced that it is doing harm. When the Russian workers learnt that a branch of the Bund had been opened, they were deeply angered by this demonstration of distrust towards the Russian comrades who are fighting alongside them against the common enemy, the Russian autocracy. And some Jewish workers, too, have reacted negatively to the establishment of an independent Jewish organisation. [*Applause.*]

*Lvov:* Comrades, we are still being accused of acting illogically in putting the question of the Bund at the head of the agenda. We are charged with having thereby transformed our congress into a constituent one. No, comrades from the Bund, it is you who have turned our ordinary congress into a constituent congress by presenting us with the draft 'treaty' which we heard this morning. Why, you want to carry out a revolution in our Party! And it is not only thanks to the agenda we chose that we have learnt the intentions of the Bund so soon. In his heated speech, Comrade Lieber called us 'people who have forgotten their kindred'. I protest most energetically against

that! I myself worked in the Russian Social-Democratic organisations which prepared the First Party Congress, and I know very well what an honourable role was played by the Bund in the founding of our Party. And the overwhelming majority of the previous speakers have said the same. It is all the more instructive to compare the Bund's previous role and place in the Party with what has happened since the famous Fourth Congress. Before then, the Bund was in the closest and liveliest relations, to the best of my knowledge, with many Southern organisations, rendering us many services in the sphere of transport and technique, and concentrating its activity in Lithuania and Byelorussia. As the Fourth Congress approached, and especially clearly after that Congress, when the Bund openly took the line of federalism, relations between us got worse. The Bund began to hold aloof from the Russian organisations, and began to the work independently in places where Russian Committees had already been formed. Disputes started breaking out everywhere. Thanks to the Bund, the gulf between Christians and Jews grew ever wider. That is what has happened to the Bund lately.

I think it is instructive to remember what happened as a result of the separatist policy of the Bund in Poland, its estrangement in Lithuania and Poland from the Polish and Lithuanian socialists. From the very beginning of the Bund the Polish Socialists called upon the Bundists to merge with the Polish organisation. The separatism of the Bund created favourable soil in Poland for continual squabbles and exacerbated relations between the Christian and Jewish workers. The same danger threatens us if the Bund fails to merge very closely with us. As representative of the Mining and Metallurgical Association I cannot refrain from mentioning, to supplement what the comrades from the South have said, that among us, although there are a fair number of Jewish craftsmen, the absence of a Bundist organisation has never hindered our work. On the contrary, relations between the factory workers and the Jewish craftsmen are very good. Our association carries on active propaganda among the craftsmen, and they render it great services. If the Bund were to appear, the craftsmen would all be shut up in their own little circles, and the work of common Social-Democratic agitation would suffer a serious setback. Comrade Lieber refers to Rosa Luxemburg. But references to Germany, with its constitutional system, where also the national unions of which Rosa Luxemburg speaks are frequently of a purely cultural nature, are quite unconvincing. We are in Russia, and it is unthinkable to com-

pare our organisation so mechanically as this with those which exist in Europe. Comrade Lieber ended his speech with an emotional reminder of the great role played by the Bund in the work of uniting our Party. But for that very reason it is all the more painful to see what has happened now. The Caucasian comrades said that it is impossible to forgive the mistake we committed in giving the Bund such a privileged position in the Party. For my part, I say that it is impossible not to regret that our Russian organisation should have lagged in its development so far behind the growth of the Bund, thereby enabling the latter to move away from the Party and to develop pernicious tendencies within itself.

To the same extent as, at the end of the 1890's, the Bund played the role of uniter in our Party, so now it is acting as a divisive force among us. The Bund is not uniting us, but dividing us. Today, comrades of the Bund, you have revealed your true face to us. All that remains is for me to thank you with all my heart for having at last put your cards on the table!

*The session was closed*

## Sixth Session

*(Present: 42 delegates with 51 deciding votes  
and 9 with consultative voice.)*

*Chairman:* As the minutes are not ready yet, let us get on with the discussion without reading them. I call on Comrade Karsky.

*Karsky:* I begin my observations in chronological order. First, I want to answer Comrade Abramson, who assured us that the rules were being put before us only for discussion and not as an ultimatum. However, that what he is offering us is not offered as an ultimatum does not mean that what underlies it is not a nationalist point of view. Then, Comrade Lieber replied to me particularly sharply, even angrily, as though I had carelessly touched a sore spot. He quoted from Rosa Luxemburg, while himself attacking Martynov for quoting from the *Communist Manifesto*, and declared that 'you won't frighten us with quotations'. That's right, you won't frighten us with quotations. If Rosa Luxemburg did agree with the Bund's project it would be a different matter, but I think her attitude to this would be a negative one. Comrade Lieber claimed that I said that ever since the Bund was formed it has been departing from the framework of Social-Democracy. But in fact I only said that it has been doing this in the last two years. We have been told that we belittle the importance of the Bund in the Social-Democratic movement. That is not so. We all respect the Bund's activity, but the Bund is itself belittling its own importance by abandoning the principles of Social-Democracy.

Before examining Lieber's arguments, I want to say a few words about Comrade Brouckère, who alleged that only the Bund fully understands the rights of nations, that the Jewish proletariat has become conscious of these rights, whereas the Russian proletariat has remained unconscious of them, and that this provides the Bund with a

*raison d'être* for independent existence. I don't think the Bund will care to defend that position. Such a view assumes too low a level of consciousness on the part of the movement's leaders. Let me repeat some propositions of Comrade Lieber's. The Bund aspires to be the representative not merely of a territorially restricted proletariat but of the whole Jewish proletariat in general, and to be its sole representative. I cannot call this principle anything but nationalistic, since the Bund is guided in this case not by the general principles of Social-Democracy but merely by the fact that a proletariat belongs to a certain nation. The point of departure here is not language, or conditions of life, or level of consciousness, but the fact of belonging to the Jewish nationality, to the Jewish religion. This principle can be called nationalistic. It is strange that Lieber got angry when I described this principle in that way, instead of proving that it does not underlie the Bund's rules. If he will bring forward a different principle, I will withdraw what I said. I recall that two years ago Lieber and I had occasion to speak against the Zionists, and he then attacked them for their nationalist principles. The Jewish nation is a fiction, he said. Yet now he puts forward a nationalistic principle as the basis of his programme.<sup>1</sup> I move on to the question of how it will be possible to prevent the friction created by the parallel existence of two organisations; how, without friction, elements are to be drawn out of the general mass into each of these organisations. To do this it would be necessary to point to the existence of a difference of interests between the two proletariats. One cannot set up two committees without giving prominence to such a difference. Consequently, we create conditions that lead not towards unity *but* towards separation into a distinct party. On the other hand, we should be weakening the Party by detaching from it such a powerful element as the Jewish proletariat.

*Bekov:* Comrade Lieber said that the Bund's opponents forget the services it has rendered, and even called us persons who had forgotten their kindred. I protest against this. Nobody forgets the Bund's services. But that does not mean that we recognise as a great service also the proposal made yesterday by the Bund. Lieber will agree, I suppose, that Social-Democrats must strive towards the unification and merging of all organisations, and must not permit without extreme necessity the appearance of national organisations. In order to show that the Bund and other organisations can exist, or be born

anew, one needs to show whether conditions exist for the birth of new organisations, and continued existence of old ones, of a national character. Here the idea has been put forward that the basis for the separate existence of the Bund as a national organisation is: (1) a different relationship of social forces and (2) different legal conditions. Lieber did not say much about the first point, merely mentioning the absence among the Jews of a peasantry and a nobility. But how does one get from that circumstance to the existence of a special national organisation? The second point was sufficiently dealt with yesterday. I would merely recall that every Social-Democratic movement fights against every form of oppression, and that applies also, therefore, to the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. Arguing for the separate existence of the Bund, Lieber yesterday defended the opposite position. The Bund, he said, agitates not only among the Jewish proletariat but also among workers of other nationalities. That is certainly a great merit — but why, then, put forward a point according to which no organisation is to be allowed to address the Jewish proletariat except with the consent of the Bund? Here the Bund is going counter to the demands of life, which have obliged the Bund itself to expand the field of its agitation. But then Comrade Lieber made a last attempt to justify his views on the need for national organisations to exist, making use of the method of analogy. It would be possible to restrict oneself to saying that an analogy is not a proof. Nevertheless, I say that the reference made to Rosa Luxemburg in this connection is quite misplaced. That the PPS<sup>2</sup> did not agree with Rosa Luxemburg's formulation is easily understood, but it is also no less understandable that Rosa Luxemburg wished by this formulation merely to take a step towards rapprochement with the PPS. Comrade Lieber surely does not doubt that Rosa Luxemburg, like every other Social-Democrat has as her ideal the merging of all national organisations into one strong united party. The same analogy could be made in relation to the Caucasian proletariat. I think, though, that the mere fact that a nationality exists is not enough to prove that it is right for a national organisation to be set up. And it must be said that the Union of Armenian Social-Democrats did not and does not exist: it was nothing but a signboard.

*Abramson:* I must make a factual correction to the speech delivered yesterday by the representative of the Mining and Metallurgical Workers. I will make several such corrections. The comrade rep-

representative of the Mining and Metallurgical Association, seeking to discredit the Bund and to illustrate that 'divisive influence' (his words) which the Bund allegedly exerts everywhere, mentioned the relations between the Bund and the PPS in Poland. But the facts of which he spoke tell a quite different story. The history of the relations between the Bund and the PPS is a history of struggle by the Bund against that party, a struggle which always encountered only sympathy in the ranks of *our* party. But even with the PPS the Bund tried to enter into temporary agreements for practical undertakings, as happened this year for the celebration of the First of May. Agreement was not achieved, because the PPS demanded that the Bund march in the demonstrations under the flag of the PPS and we could not accept that. As against the facts quoted by the representative of the Mining and Metallurgical Workers, we must point to our relations with the Polish Social-Democrats. While refusing to demonstrate alongside the PPS, we did demonstrate together with the Polish Social-Democrats. The story of our relations with the PPS serves as a lesson to all the Bund's opponents, all who want to destroy it at any cost and who look with scorn upon the Bund [*Protests.*]

*Chairman:* I protest against Comrade Abramson's statement and ask that my protest be recorded in the minutes.

*Lenin:* I think that what Comrade Lvov said was that the Bund talks about scorn for the Jewish proletariat. Comrade Abramson evidently took this as meaning scorn for the Bund. [*Protest.*]

*Lenin:* I ask that this be recorded in the minutes.

*Abramson:* I withdraw what I said.

*Lenin:* Let us look out for that when the minutes are read.

*Abramson:* Furthermore, in reply to the big talk by the representative of Yekaterinoslav about the Bundist organisations in that town, I state categorically that no such organisations have been formed in Yekaterinoslav. Whether we have the right to form them is another matter. I think we have that right. But we have not done anything of the sort. The comrade said that the Bund has set up some informal organisation, and he does not want to believe us. I have already replied to that. As for Karsky's speech, which was besprinkled with the words 'nationalism', 'bourgeois-ness' . . . [*Protests:* 'He said nothing about "bourgeois-ness"!']



*Abramson: (continuing):* . . . it must be said that this comrade substitutes the word 'nationalistic' for the word 'national'. For him it is enough that the proletariat of some nation has created its own organisation for it to have taken the path of nationalism. There is no need to prove the falsity of this view. Incidentally, about the Armenian Union. It doesn't matter whether it exists or not. What matters is that it published a manifesto of the Union of Armenian Social-Democrats, and *Iskra* welcomed this new national union, and did not see in it either chauvinism or nationalism or any other such sins as Comrade Karsky bestows so generously on all national organisations.<sup>3</sup> The question of how to prevent friction arising from the existence of two organisations can be asked only by persons who have, in general, a poor notion of what is involved in the existence side by side of different organisations. We have the examples of Riga, of Lodz, where organisations were set up among the German workers. The 'friction' in Kiev and Odessa proved nothing. It is only the legacy of abnormal general conditions. The other comrade from Caucasia said that the Bund itself has begun to work among Christians and yet at the same time demands restrictions on approaches to the Jews by other nationalities. But the point to which he referred does not say that. The Bund, too, has no right to approach the proletariat of other nationalities without the consent of the appropriate organisations — precisely so as to avoid friction.

*Martynov:* Yesterday's discussion convinced me still more strongly of the soundness of what I said about Comrade Martov's resolution. We have to fight against the Bund's tendency towards national isolation, but in doing this we must not break up the real organised force which the Bund has created in the Western Territory. Abramson's objections did not convince me. In Article 1 of the Bund's draft it is said that the Bund enters the Party as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat. I stress, 'as the sole representative', though Abramson put the emphasis on the words 'enters the Party'. And this is not just a phrase. Concrete conclusions are drawn from it in the draft rules; in particular, that the CC of the Party has no right to address the Jewish proletariat without the consent of the CC of the Bund. I turn to the matter of representation — not in the sense that the Bund was to have a representative on the CC of the Party, but on the question of whose representative he is to be. He is to be the representative of the Jewish proletariat with regard to matters which

are specially Jewish, in the capacity of a sort of consul, with a mandate to defend the interests of his state, and not like each of us, in the capacity of a representative of the Party at large. Here we see the tendency of the Bund to break up the unity of the Social-Democratic Party. I have not yet spoken about the attempt to limit the freedom of the Party congress. I have no doubt about the separatist tendencies of the Bund, I regard them as harmful, and I propose that the congress declare itself against them. But, I repeat, we are not fighting against the Bund, as an organisation which is strong and which has historical services to its credit, and we want to preserve it. That this too ought to be said in the resolution was shown by the speech of the Yekaterinoslav comrades, who struck the Bund off the map of Russia's Social-Democratic movement. That was a very fantastic proposal. As regards the Bund, it seems to me, we ought to pass Martov's resolution with the addition that the Bund joins the Party . . .

*Martov:* It is already in the Party.

*Martynov:* Yes, but it ought to be subordinate to the general Party organisation. It is now in the Party in the form in which it was organised before its Fourth Congress, that is, before it began to introduce federalistic principles.

*Martov:* I want to say something about Martynov's concluding words. I do not think we can vote on his proposal about the Bund's entry into the Party. The Bund has already entered the Party. There is also no point in talking about our intention to preserve the Bund, since nobody has sought to destroy it, and a phrase about preserving the Bund could not serve to appease the Bundists, since it is clear that we have not been arguing about the abolition of the Bund. When one speaks about the abnormal position occupied by the Bund as a result of exceptional historical conditions, that does not mean that one is talking of abolishing it. Our relations with the Bund were expressed in the phrase about the difficulties which such a position would place in the way of the closest rapprochement with the Jewish proletariat. We hope that by further work we may succeed in working out new relations. This is a long way from proposing a mechanical alteration in what has been shaped by history. Moreover, we do not deny the services rendered by the Bund generally, and, in particular, in the matter of unification. It was just because of our memories of those days, the days of our First Congress, that we wanted to discuss our

present relationship. The Bund's Fifth Congress was held quite recently. Was it normal that at this congress, held before our Party congress, the opinion of the Russian comrades was not heard? After all, the Bund was represented in the OC. Did the OC know that a congress was being prepared at which it would be desirable for the views of the Russian comrades to be given a hearing? And in saying this I do not want to make a point of the fact that the comrade from the Bund forgot about the existence of the OC. I only want to show how it is that awkward situations have been created, as now with this proffering to us of a treaty. By rejecting this treaty we have put the Bundist comrades in an awkward situation. This would not have happened if they had acquainted themselves beforehand with the opinion of the Russian comrades on this question.

I will say nothing about other facts regarding the present policy of the Bund, which is so different from what it was in 1898. I express confidence that these discussions may remove the obstacles to a rapprochement between the Bund and the Russian Party. The comrades must have seen what our attitude is to separatism. I hope that in the future they will talk with us not as 'contracting parties' but as comrades. That is why I consider that the adoption of our resolution will summon us not to a worsening of relations but to the creation of a basis for mutual understanding and the ending of the 'armed peace' between us. To turn to some points of detail: Comrade Lieber quoted Rosa Luxemburg on the attitude of the German *Vorstand* to the Polish comrades. Why refer to Rosa Luxemburg's views on Polish-German relations when you could have referred to her views, which are the same as ours, on Russo-Jewish relations? The abnormality of the conditions in which Polish-German relations are developing is quite different from the abnormality of the position of the Bund in the RSDLP. The analogy does not help at all. Then comrades made statements about the disadvantages to centralisation caused by the existence side by side of Bundist and Russian committees. In reply to this the comrades from the Bund asked why we did not mention Lodz, Riga, and so on. But there (in Lodz) the Bundists are working with the Polish Social-Democrats, which is hardly an argument in favour of such isolation. Quite the contrary. As regards Riga, there the so-called unity of three organisations has meant that the movement is at a standstill. Though uniting for particular acts of protest, in their day-to-day work they remain isolated. While the weak Lettish and Russian organisations work among the great mass of the proletariat,

the well-established Jewish organisation, which has many capable organisers, stands aloof from the movement of the Russians and Letts, confining its activity exclusively to a handful of Jewish craftsmen, and only occasionally joins with the other two organisations for the joint issue of a proclamation. The results are the same as if there were three completely unco-ordinated organisations.

*Kostich:* I do not understand why Comrade Abramson is surprised at what I said about specifically Bundist agitation. He himself said yesterday: 'We do not reject the possibility of work by other groups among the Jews.' He even mentioned that there had been cases when a Bundist group clashed with a Party committee in the course of its work. How does he conceive the Bund's agitation in a case like that? With which organisation would Comrade Abramson suggest that a worker should side? I think he would answer: with the Bundist organisation. Very well, but what arguments would he advance in favour of this proposal? I think they would be the arguments which are set out in the pamphlet *On National Autonomy*, that is, he would resort to the kind of agitation which forms the basis for federation. And it is just these arguments that I consider absolutely detrimental to the development of class consciousness. But Comrade Abramson asked for facts, so here they are. I will quote two characteristic incidents. One, I think, is known to Comrade Abramson. It was fully reflected in the pages of *Poslednie Izvestiya*<sup>4</sup> — the all too famous story of the shop-assistants. The other incident is the dispute that occurred, at a meeting of not very highly conscious workers, between a member of a Party-committee organisation and a Bundist. During this dispute the member of the Bundist organisation used arguments which I cannot call anything but specifically Bundist and harmful. But Comrade Abramson, of course, does not see this harm. He even sees benefit, not only to the Jewish labour movement but also to the All-Russia labour movement. The committees can then devote all their forces to work among the Christians. And this argument is not new. Let us divide the work between us, say the Bundists: you will work among the Christians and we shall work among the Jews, and so on. But I answer: if you sincerely aim at growth of the revolutionary movement among the backward sections of the people, then you must place all your forces at the disposal of the united Party, which will use them for this purpose. Comrade Lieber! Don't call us 'people who have forgotten their kindred'. We do not forget our kinship with the

Bund as it was before its Fourth Congress. But we cannot guarantee that we shall remember our kinship with the Bund after its Fourth Congress. Do not forget *your* kinship with the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy!

*Akimov:* I want to say a few words about the reproof we have just heard. The brilliant organisation of the Bund has always supported, defended and implemented the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy. It is ridiculous to instruct it in these principles. Some comrades have tried to analyse the reasons which have caused the question of the position of the Bund in the Party to come up, but it seems to me that they have failed to dot their i's.

I think that all these reasons can be reduced to two: the national tasks of the Bund and its organisational tasks. The Jews constitute a distinct nation, sharply marked off from all other nations. They have survived for thousands of years, despite all persecutions, and have produced a large number of geniuses in all fields of knowledge and art. The Jewish proletariat represents the interests of the Jewish nation. Nobody has ever denied the role played by the proletariat in the life of a nation generally. In relation to national interests it must be said that no other class can so clearly express not only its own interests but also those of its nation.

The comrade from Caucasia said that the Jews lack certain estates, namely the nobility and the peasantry, and therefore they are not a nation, but I think this is untrue. There are classes among the Jews — a proletariat and a bourgeoisie. Among the Jewish bourgeoisie a nationalist movement has arisen, namely, Zionism. This comes forward as the defender of the interests of the whole Jewish community and may succeed in attracting to itself the less conscious section of the workers. Therefore, the party of the Jewish proletariat has to fight against its own bourgeoisie, and to show that even in the struggle for the national interests of the Jews the proletariat is the most advanced class. After thousands of years of enslavement, the Jews are being reborn to life as a nation, like the Czechs, and this complicates the task of the Jewish proletariat, creates the need for it to have a national Social-Democratic organisation similar to the Social-Democratic organisations of other nations. The Bund seeks to achieve this, and in this endeavour there is no nationalist motive, only a national one. On the other hand, the Bund now possesses an organisation which has developed historically, and it must ensure that it is able to develop

without hindrance. Yet our comrades from the Bund have obtained from speeches at this congress the impression — and, in my view, the quite correct impression — that there are some here who want to alter this organisation by a mighty blow of the fist. Comrade Martov said plainly that the Bund's present position makes no sense and was brought about by abnormal conditions — among others, by the Bund's fight against the PPS. This fight really ought to be a source of instruction for us. The PPS did not want to take account of the requirements of the Jewish comrades, and this led to continual conflict, from which the Bund emerged quite definitely the victor. There are similar tendencies here in this congress. One feels that some comrades assume that this organisation will eventually be assimilated to the position of all the rest, will come into line with the remaining organisations of the RSDLP.

*Martov:* How criminal of these comrades.

*Akimov:* I am not looking at this matter from the ethical standpoint, from which alone this could be regarded as criminal . . . In contrast to the opinion of these comrades, I think that the congress will not mark the end of conflicts with the Bund, it will merely open an era of such conflicts. In view of all this, we must approach the question with the greatest caution.

*Hofman:* First, a few words about an accusation against us which was levelled especially by Comrade Martov. It is said that we are coming forward as a 'contracting party'. This amounts to shifting the blame from the guilty to the innocent. A substantial majority of the congress insisted on putting the question of the Bund's position in the Party at the head of the agenda, and thereby showed that they did not look on the Bund as a section of the Party, relations with which must be regulated by the general rules of the organisation. Right from the start, a compact majority was formed at the congress which treated us as a 'contracting party'.

Now I come to Comrade Martov's report, or, more correctly, to his critical comments on Comrade Lieber's report, since Comrade Martov offered us no report of his own. Comrade Martov's criticism was concerned mainly with two points: the point saying that the Bund is not restricted by any territorial limits, and enters the Party as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, and the point dealing with

representation. Comrade Martov likes to emphasise his All-Russia point of view, proceeding from which he insists on restricting the Bund to a certain area: the Bund may work in Lithuania and Poland, but there is no place for it in South Russia, where only Russian committees exist and must exist. He knows that in Lithuania and Poland the Bund has come into conflict with the Lithuanian and Polish workers' movement, but that does not matter to him, and he puts that area at the disposal of the Bund. He is interested only in South Russia, which he wants to safeguard from the pretensions of the Bund. Comrade Martov has abandoned the All-Russia standpoint and adopted the standpoint of the Southern area of the country. Comrade Martov opposed the point about the Bund entering the Party as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, and thereby came into contradiction with the Manifesto of the Party, his solidarity with which he had often proclaimed to us.

In the Manifesto it says: the Bund enters the Party as an autonomous section, possessing independence with regard to questions which specially concern the Jewish proletariat. What does that mean? It means that out of the whole mass of questions with which the Social-Democratic movement has to deal, one group of questions is singled out, which we are accustomed to call 'special' questions, and these are placed under the jurisdiction of the organisation of the Jewish proletariat. This already implies recognition that the said organisation is the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat in the Party. Thus, the point about the Bund being the 'sole representative' is the logical deduction from the point concerning the Bund in the Manifesto. The question is asked: why is the Bund the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat? Because it is the only organisation which has organised under its banner large masses of the Jewish proletariat, and which specially and systematically carries on work among the Jewish proletariat. It is said that there are Jewish workers who have joined certain Russian committees, but this gives these committees as little right to represent the Jewish proletariat as the Bundist organisations that work in some places among German, Polish and Russian workers could claim to represent the Polish, German or Russian proletariats. This work is not their typical work. What determines the character and content of the activity of the Bundist organisations is their systematic work among the Jewish proletariat. As regards the representation of the Bund in the Party's central organs, this should stimulate the Bund to greater interest in

general questions, and tell *against* that segregation which has been so much talked about here.

I am not going to say any more about the rules we have proposed, because what is involved now is not these rules, but the question whether the Bund should or should not exist. A clear-cut tendency in favour of abolishing the Bund has revealed itself at this congress. This tendency has been apparent in all the speeches made. Regret has been expressed that the Bund has grown so fast. Petty facts of an anecdotal character have been quoted against the Bund. What is significant is not so much that speeches like this have been delivered. What is significant is that these speeches have been greeted with friendly applause by the majority of the congress. And if any doubt remained that there is a party formed against us, that doubt must be finally dissipated after hearing such applause. In view of this, it is a pity that the rapporteur Martov did not tell us just what the majority in question want. We find more or less definite plans concerning the Bund in the speeches by Comrade Trotsky and the delegate from Yekaterinoslav. Comrade Trotsky drew this picture for us. The Bund is to look after the organisation of Yiddish-speaking workers. Non-Bundist committees are to detach groups for work among the Jewish workers. These groups are to form an entity, holding its own congresses, and sending delegates to the congresses of the Bund. There would seem to be no point in discussing this plan as a practical proposition. I only fail to understand why Comrade Trotsky, in advocating committees with groups for Jewish workers, makes an exception of the Bundist committees and leaves these unscathed. That would make sense only if these Bundist committees were working in areas inhabited exclusively by Jews, but this is not the case. Comrade Trotsky knows that in the places where the Bundist committees work it is not only Jews that are living, but also Poles, Lithuanians, Germans, and Russians, and so it follows logically that the committees of the Bund should be replaced by general committees, carrying on work among the workers of all the nationalities in the given locality — in other words, that the Bund should be abolished. Comrade Trotsky felt that there was something not quite right in that, and tried to extricate himself from the difficulty by this method. What! he exclaimed, people are accusing us of wanting to abolish the Bund? And what about the class consciousness of the Jewish proletariat? Do we want to abolish that? Then he took two more ideological factors, showed that nobody had any designs on them, and implied that nobody was



thinking of abolishing the Bund. No, Comrade Trotsky, this is sophistry. The Bund finds material expression in committees, organisations, and congresses, and by abolishing these we thereby abolish the Bund itself. The delegate from Yekaterinoslav Committee proposes that a North-Western Union be set up, to consist of general committees working among workers of all nationalities. The Bund should become part of the Union, he considers. How the Bund can enter an organisation which presupposes the abolition of the Bund remains a mystery. Evidently, the comrade from Yekaterinoslav did not have courage enough openly to call for suppression of the Bund.

*Martov:* A word on a personal point. The comrade has asked me why I did not state the wishes of the 'compact majority'. I was voicing my personal opinions, and have no authority to state the wishes of the 'compact majority'.

*Lvov:* Hofman touched on an interesting question: the logical conclusion that follows from comrades' speeches. Yes, the conclusion is that committees made up of various nationalities ought to exist everywhere. In view, however, of the fact that we are only now getting formed into a Party, we have to take account of already existing magnitudes. I did not speak of scorn for the Bund, for which I feel the greatest respect. Then, my remarks about the PPS. I know that the PPS, operating on the territory of Russian Poland, has tried to create an All-Poland organisation, analogous to the All-Russia one. By referring to this analogy I wanted to say that the Bund, by breaking away from the All-Poland organisation, provided an example of the harm done by separatist tendencies, which have given rise to antagonism between the Polish and Jewish proletariats. By allowing the Bund to exist separately we are repeating the history of Poland.

*Karsky:* One of the Bundist comrades said that the majority have acted at the congress like a party. However, if the majority declared in favour of putting the Bund question in the forefront, this does not mean that the congress was divided into two 'contracting parties', but merely that the majority found this procedure more convenient. Then, the second argument of the Bund to justify its being the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat is the idea that the Bund works exclusively among the Jewish proletariat. But this work they do does not give the Bund the right to treat the whole Jewish population as its province. On one point Akimov agreed with the Bund, namely, about

the difference between 'national' and 'nationalist'. We know that this difference exists. But what is 'national', by growing, passes into what is 'nationalist'. The Bund's separatist endeavours reveal its nationalist essence. We were also told that the Jewish masses have produced many talented people. It is strange to hear this said at a socialist congress. We all know that Marx was a Jew. But this does not mean that he would be a Bundist. The Bundists say that their opponents want to assimilate the Jewish proletariat and abolish the Bund. The formation of a united Party does not imply, however, that sort of assimilation which the Bund is afraid of — Russianisation.

*Brouckère:* I consider that Comrade Karsky's objections do not apply to me. He repeated what I said, that the Jewish proletariat knew its rights better than the Russian proletariat did. From that I merely drew the conclusion that the consciousness of the more advanced proletariat must help to raise the level of consciousness of the more backward one. When I spoke of backward consciousness, I did not intend to denigrate the leaders, I meant only the consciousness of the masses. Since these elements with a low level of consciousness exist, joint work with the Jewish proletariat is desirable. Unlike Comrade Karsky, I assume that not only the protest of the proletariat grows spontaneously, but also its consciousness. What I have said, I repeat, implies merely that the Jewish proletariat, as the more conscious one, should come to the aid of the Russian.

*Lenin:* I shall deal first with Hofman's speech and his expression 'compact majority'. Comrade Hofman uses these words as a reproach. In my opinion we should not be ashamed but proud of the fact that there is a compact majority at the congress. And we shall be prouder still if our Party as a whole proves to be a compact, a highly compact, 90 per cent majority. [*Applause.*] The majority did right in making the position of the Bund in the Party the first item on the agenda: the Bundists showed at once that this was so, by submitting their so-called rules, but in essence proposing *federation*. Since there are in the Party members who advocate federation and members who reject it, no course was open but to make the question of the Bund the first item on the agenda. You can't force people to love you, and it is impossible to discuss the Party's internal affairs until we have decided, firmly and steadfastly, whether or not we want to march together.

The crux of the matter at issue has not always been presented quite correctly in the debate. What it amounts to is that, in the opinion of

many Party members, *federation* is harmful and runs counter to the principle of Social-Democracy as applied to existing Russian conditions. Federation is harmful because it sanctions segregation and alienation, elevating them to the status of a principle, a law. Complete alienation does indeed exist among us, and we ought not to sanction it, or cover it with a fig-leaf, but to combat it, and we ought resolutely to acknowledge and proclaim the need firmly and unswervingly to advance towards the *closest* unity. That is why we reject federation in principle, *in limine*, as the Latin phrase has it, why we reject *all* obligatory partitions set up among us. Even without them there will always be different groupings in the Party, groupings of comrades who are not wholly of one mind on questions of programme, tactics or organisation; but let there be only *one* division into groups throughout the Party, that is, let all like-minded Party members join in a single group, instead of groups being formed first *in one section* of the Party, separately from the groups in another section, and then having a union not of groups holding different views, or with different shades of opinion, but of sections of the Party, each containing different groups. I repeat, we recognise no *obligatory* partitions, and that is why we reject federation in principle.

I now pass to the question of autonomy. Comrade Lieber said that federation means centralism, whereas autonomy means decentralism. Can it be that Comrade Lieber takes the members of this congress for six-year-olds, who can be treated to such sophistries? Is it not clear that centralism requires the *absence* of all partitions between the centre and even the most remote and out-of-the-way sections of the Party? Our Party centre will be given the absolute right to communicate directly with every single Party member. The Bundists would only laugh if someone were to propose to them a form of 'centralism' *within* the Bund under which its Central Committee could not have dealings with all the groups and comrades in Kovno *otherwise than* through the Kovno Committee. Incidentally, as regards the committees: Comrade Lieber exclaimed, with feeling: 'What is the good of talking about autonomy for the Bund if it is to be an organisation subordinated to one central body? After all, you wouldn't give autonomy to some Tula Committee or other.' You are mistaken, Comrade Lieber. We will certainly and without fail give autonomy to 'some' Tula Committee, too — autonomy in the sense of freedom from petty interference by the centre, although the duty of subordination to that body will, of course, remain. I have taken the words 'petty

interference' from the Bund leaflet *Autonomy or Federation?* The Bund has put forward this freedom from 'petty interference' as a *condition*, as a *demand* presented to the Party. The mere fact that it puts forward such ridiculous demands shows how confused the Bund is on the question at issue. Does the Bund really suppose that the Party would tolerate the existence of a centre that interfered in a 'petty' way in the affairs of *any* Party organisation or group? Is this not, in effect, that 'organised distrust' which has already been mentioned at this congress? Such distrust shows through in all the proposals and all the arguments of the Bundists. Is it not, in fact, the duty of our entire Party to fight, for example, for *full* equality of rights and even for the *recognition* of the right of nations to self-determination? Consequently, if any section of our Party were to fail in this duty, it would undoubtedly be liable to censure, by virtue of our principles: it would undoubtedly be liable to *correction* by the central institutions of the Party. And if that duty was being neglected consciously and deliberately, despite full opportunity to perform it, then this neglect of duty would be *treachery*.

Further, Comrade Lieber asked us, in moving tones, *how it can be proved* that autonomy is adequate to guarantee to the Jewish workers' movement the independence which is absolutely essential to it. What a strange question! How can it be proved that one of several paths suggested is the right one? The only way is to take that path and test it in practice. My reply to Comrade Lieber's question is: *march with us*, and we undertake to prove to you in practice that all legitimate requirements in the matter of independence will be fully satisfied.

When disputes arise about the place of the Bund, I always recall the British miners.<sup>5</sup> They are excellently organised, better than the rest of the workers. And, because of that, they want to thwart the common demand for an eight-hour day put forward by all proletarians. Those miners conceive the unity of the proletariat in the same narrow way as our Bundists. Let the sad example of the miners serve as a warning to our comrades of the Bund.

*Lieber:* I have seldom been at a meeting where the words 'principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy' have so often been misused as at this congress. But it was pointed out long ago that not everyone who says 'Lord, Lord!' shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. Not everyone who reminds us of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy is really standing up for them.

These speakers are unwilling to reckon with the following phenomenon. Within the national organisms known to us there are different social classes. These classes, entering into conflict with each other, group themselves in different parties, which exhibit both their particular class character and the fact that they belong to particular nations. One can point to such specifically national bourgeois movements as Russian liberalism, the Polish *Narodowa Demokracja*, or Jewish Zionism. Comrade Lenin tells us that the federal principle of Party organisation is contradictory to the principles of Social-Democracy. But where was Comrade Lenin when this frightful breach of principle was committed in Austria? Comrade Lenin says that practice has not demonstrated any advantages in federation, but the practice of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, mentioned in its report, tells us the contrary. In the Executive Committee's opinion, thanks to this form of organisation it has proved possible to achieve brilliant results, both in the growth of the movement and in its unity. Comrade Lenin says that the disintegration which we are alleged to be bringing into the Party does not need to be covered by the 'fig-leaves of federation'. So far as 'fig-leaves' are concerned, one can only be grateful to Comrade Lenin for having torn the fig leaves from the words of Comrades Martov and Trotsky. Comrade Lenin speaks openly of the need to abolish the Bund. He may, of course, allow the Central Committee of the Bund to continue for the purpose of organising smuggling, but we do not need the Central Committee of the Bund for that. We need it as the leader of the Jewish proletariat.

We are constantly being told about 'common Russian interests', but our opponents understand these 'in a special way'. They first delete from these 'common Russian' interests everything that is of special concern to the proletariat of a particular nation, and then suppose that the residue that remains will express common Russian interests. Comrade Lenin says: we want the Bund, but a different Bund. I think I ought to mention that in the polemic between the Bund and the PPS which was once published in the journal *Rabotnik*, edited by Plekhanov, the *profession de foi* we are now making was set forth without any reservations, and without being subjected to the attacks which it is encountering today.

We then said that the Russian Social-Democratic movement will become the leader of the whole proletariat when it has become the leader of all the nationalities. Lenin now says that we do not need the

Bund as the leader of the Jewish proletariat, and tactlessly compares us to the Durham miners. Of all our opponents who have spoken about the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy, none has shown us how our proposals conflict with those principles. This is, to say the least, a frivolous accusation on Comrade Lenin's part. We should like to ask this question of our comrades who claim to have a monopoly of revolutionary Social-Democratism. Every Social-Democrat must recognise that the Social-Democratic movement groups itself, in different nationalities, in different parties with different physiognomies. The Jewish bourgeoisie is organised. Is it not natural that against this bourgeoisie there must fight that force which has arisen in the midst of Jewry itself, the Jewish proletariat? It is this force that has activated the Bund. You have confronted us with the fiction of common-Russian tendencies, but these interests are the total sum — not arithmetical, of course — of the interests of the proletariat of all nationalities. As an example of our common-Russian tendencies we have seen the practice of the common-Russian organ *Iskra*, which allotted so little space to the interests of the outlying areas that the matter was mentioned in the Odessa Committee. I say, and not as a reproach, to the comrades from *Iskra*: your aspirations will meet with defeat until your side gives satisfaction to the interests of the different nationalities. They want to create international socialism for us without an international movement, and forget that we — the representatives of the proletariat of the Jewish nationality — transformed such pariahs among other nationalities, in Kautsky's words, as the Jews were, into a mighty revolutionary force.

*Yegorov*: After Comrade Lieber's passionate speech it is hard for me to bring forward my calm arguments. But I think that, nevertheless, what I have to say will receive attention. The passion revealed in our discussion shows the seriousness of the question at issue, shows us that we are here dealing with the profoundest fundamentals of Social-Democracy. We need to remember that attention must be given not only to what is said but also to what is hidden behind the things said. I am not going to assert that the comrades from the Bund are nationalists, but I think that if these comrades could foresee all the consequences of their plans, could divine what it is their proposal is fraught with, they would see that there is a nationalist subsoil hidden beneath it. All the difficulties which Social-Democracy has encountered on its path are explicable by the fact that we lacked a common,

firmly established programme, that we were feeling our way and could not foresee where our steps were leading us. From this soil arose the crazes for economism, terrorism and so on. People followed where life led them, instead of marching ahead of it. Without wishing to offend respected comrades, I must say that their present endeavours have a smell of that same opportunism about them. From the fact that the Jewish nation exists, a fact which it would, of course, be absurd to deny, they deduce a foundation of principle for their programme. But the mere fact that something exists is not enough to put completely new principles into operation.

If, comrades, you will consider the question coolly; if you will believe that we all sincerely want unity; if you will get rid of the idea that here are assembled brigands who want at any cost to destroy what they allegedly see as this perfidious Bund; if, moreover, you will take account of the full seriousness of the occasion, the exceptional importance of our present congress — which, though the second in number, to be sure, is the first as regards its role in our future history; if, I repeat, you remember all this, you will not bring so much irritation into our collective discussion. So let's all keep cool. The consciousness of the masses is not a horse which can be led now this way, now that, by one flick of the bridle. If we allow so much as the shadow of a division into Jews and non-Jews to creep in here, it will set a mark on the psychology of the masses such as later we shall find it not easy to cope with. It is not enough to say in our programmes that we are not nationalists, it is not enough to talk to the workers about mass solidarity — we have to show that this is so in all our activity. Did the PPS insert the nationalist principle in its programme? And it justified the demand for the separation of Poland by purely practical considerations. Nevertheless, nationalism is apparent in the whole essence of its activity. Facts are stronger than words. Look at the Socialist-Revolutionaries. They too say 'not instead of' but 'together with'. They assign to terror a very minor place in their programme, but we know that facts have their own logic, and if, somewhere in the programme, a door is opened for terrorism, then it will inevitably begin to take priority over everything else in the programme. Life, regardless of your will, starts to push you where you don't want to go.

It is enough to look at the history of the Bund to see how it too has gone where it didn't want to go. At the beginning of the 1890s the present representatives of the Bund were continuators of the traditions of the 1870s, representatives of the Russian revolutionaries. The

first groups of Jewish workers were educated in the spirit of Russian revolutionism: these workers were Russian revolutionaries in the best sense of the word. I am myself a pupil of the Bund, and still retain profound respect for my teachers, whom I see here among the delegates.<sup>6</sup> Their views have greatly changed since those days. In their subsequent work, as they extended their activity, the founders of the Bund went over to agitation in Yiddish. Let me mention that in so doing the Bund was not reckoning with 'the demands of life'. The mass of the propagandised workers protested against this agitation in Yiddish. But at that time, I repeat, the Bund did not appeal to 'life'. The new forms of activity were justified by purely practical considerations, and not at all by national peculiarities. The question of the separation off of the Bund as a special organisation had not yet arisen. However, after a short time, phrases began to be heard about the special obligations of the Jewish intellectual towards the Jewish masses. The nationalist note began to be sounded. I am not going to trace the subsequent history, but will take up only the last link. What happened? Those same Jewish revolutionaries, workers and intellectuals, who had until then been continuators of Russian revolutionism, carved out their own special little niche for themselves and disappeared into their national shell. The interests of the Russian proletariat began to be evaluated in accordance with how they guaranteed those of the Jewish proletariat.

You talk of the need for unity, but only because, without this unity, you can find no way out of the blind alley into which you have got yourselves. The unity proposal which you have put to us smells of an ultimatum, as Martov correctly observed. If you were to develop consistently the principles which underlie this treaty, you would arrive at naked nationalism. True, it may be that life will not allow this to manifest itself. But that is a different matter. Your programme, if consistently applied, would, I repeat, logically engender nationalism. If you justified the existence of a special Jewish organisation merely by the special features of the situation of the Jewish proletariat, then it would be easy to reach agreement on the basis of that practical matter. One could detach a special group for work among the Jewish proletariat, in order to make use of these special features, but this would merely be a practically-needed organ within the revolutionary organisation, and not a national organisation of the proletariat. We declare that it is dangerous to divide the masses in accordance with special indicators of any sort, and especially so if the indicator in question is



nationality. You all point to the unfortunate example of Austria, forgetting that, perhaps, it is precisely the peculiarity of that country's state structure, that dismal condition of things which has held back its entire political mechanism and prevented it from developing properly, which has caused the success of this form of organisation. It is a long way from that, though, to acknowledging its correctness in principle. This is only an evil, perhaps a compromise due to circumstances. Are you going to claim that the successes of the Party over there correspond to the strength and importance of the proletariat? And, in general, such factual references are unconvincing. You have not yet established the principle of your segregation. It is not we but you who have to prove that your tendency does not run counter to our programmes. The onus of proof lies upon you. We advance the general principle that all barriers, whether of occupation or of nationality, without distinction, contribute to the disintegration of consciousness. *[Applause]* Furthermore, it seems to me that the national principle is being applied by you not just in concealed form: in your arguments an obviously nationalist note is being sounded, which can grow into a nationalist chord. Let me refer here to private conversations in which it has been said that in our activity we ought not to try to do away with national peculiarities. While such phrases are not dangerous on the lips of leaders, they can have a dangerous significance in the consciousness of the masses — and not only the masses that are at a low level of consciousness, either. A clear example of this is the fact that, frequently, Russian comrades replying to you have accepted that they are not competent to deal with the question of the interests of the Jewish masses, and thereby have emphasised the nationalistic character of these interests.

No, comrades, we must state categorically that for us the national factor lies outside the sphere of ethics. We are not interested in what goes on among the Jews, Poles, Russians, and so on, as such. The question of nationality arises only in an oppressed nation, and only then does it assume an ethical character. But we consider that the interests of nationality will be ensured automatically with the attainment of our ideal. The special features embodied in nations can develop on the basis of a common European culture. True, you have not put forward here the preservation of nationality as a principle, but this is perhaps because, in general, you have not put before us any considerations of principle. Your allusion to a special grouping of social forces provides no justification for the special existence of the

Bund. Is not a special grouping of social forces to be observed in Little Russia, for instance, where there was no village commune and where the historical conditions of development were quite distinctive? You resort too often to matters of detail, and I call that opportunism. Comrades! Look at the questions calmly, do not see us as enemies, have confidence in our readiness to work together with you, and, before you say 'no', think of the consequences your decision will bring with it. [*Prolonged applause.*]

*The session was closed.*

## Seventh Session

*(Present: 42 delegates with 51 deciding votes,  
and 8 with consultative voice)*

*The minutes of the third session were read and approved.*

*Lvov* announced that a telegram had been received about the confirmation by the Mining and Metallurgical Association of a second delegate, and proposed that the congress allow this delegate to attend the session. He supported this proposal by saying that he had approached Comrade Deutsch on the matter, and Deutsch had asked a member of the OC to check the delegate's credentials.

*Deutsch* confirmed this statement.

*Yegorov*: According to the rules of the congress, delegates certified and confirmed by the OC cannot be replaced by others. A departure from this rule can, however, be allowed: after all, the OC must, as a rule, know the delegate already. I propose that this question be referred to the credentials commission.

*Reference of this matter to the commission was approved by the congress, which then proceeded to continue the discussion on Point 2 of the Agenda.*

*Lieber*: Before we go on with the debate, I ask to be allowed to make a statement and move a motion. [*Permission was given.*] Comrades, we have taken note of all the discussion that we have had here, and, although our view regarding all the points in the rules we have proposed remains unaltered, in the interests of unity, which, as we have repeatedly said, is extremely dear to us, we have decided to make considerable modifications in our draft rules, and to those I request

you to give your attention.\* In the third point, as you will see, we have struck out the words about the capacity in which our representatives in the central organs will speak. These words gave rise to a lot of dispute and by removing them we once more emphasise our idea that these representatives of the Bund, once they have become members of the central organs, will speak there as members of the Party as a whole. As regards the other points, let me mention the correction made to point 9. We were told that in this point as it was previously worded, the 'treaty' character of the rules presented by us was especially marked, and so we have altered this, making it possible now for our rules to be countermanded by the votes of two-thirds of the participants in a congress. We propose this qualified majority only so as to provide some sort of guarantee of the durability of these rules. I would observe that if this point is directed against anybody, it is directed rather against ourselves, since it would probably be difficult for us to get these two-thirds of the votes for our proposals. And so, comrades, as you see, we have done everything possible to ensure unity. We cannot go any further. Without the points that are left it will be impossible for the Bund even to exist. [*In reply to a question from the chairman as to whether this statement was to be understood as the presentation of an ultimatum, Lieber continued:*] I regard the chairman's question as quite unnecessary. We know the rules of the congress perfectly well, and are present here, like the rest of the comrades, without any imperative mandate. I merely said that, in our view,

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\* Amended rules put forward by the delegates of the Bund:

1. The position of the Bund in the Party is defined by the following points:
2. The Bund is the Social-Democratic organisation of the Jewish proletariat, unrestricted in its activity by any territorial limits, and enters the Party as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat.
3. The Bund elects its representation in the central committee of the Party, the Foreign Committee of the Party, and the Party congresses.
4. The programme of the Bund is the programme common to the whole Party.
5. The Bund holds its own congress to decide all questions of special concern to the Jewish proletariat, and has its own Central Committee and Foreign Committee.
6. The Bund is authorised to settle freely the internal affairs of its own organisation.
7. The Bund has unrestricted right of publication, both in Yiddish and in other languages.
8. The Party congress has the right to overrule any decisions of congresses of the Bund.
9. All the above points are to be considered fundamental, and can be altered, added to or deleted only by a majority consisting of two thirds of the votes of those participating in Party congresses.

unless these points are accepted, it will be impossible for the Bund to continue to exist. That is our common conviction.

*Chairman:* I am not arguing. I merely ask that Comrade Lieber's explanation be recorded in the minutes.

*Akimov:* In my speech yesterday I said that the question of the position of the Bund in the Party had arisen as a result of the Bund's understandable endeavour to ensure for itself the possibility of carrying out two tasks: a national one and an organisational one. The objection was made that it was superfluous to mention the merits of this nation in the history of mankind; but I think there is point in mentioning this, in order to counterpose my view to that of Comrade Yegorov, who seemed when speaking about the national rights of the Jews to show hardly any sympathy for this nation. The Jews are a nation like any other, and therefore the point in our programme which guarantees the right of self-determination to all nations must be applicable to them. The changes which the comrades from the Bund have introduced into their proposal have only confirmed my view that they had no nationalistic tendencies, but merely the motives of which I have spoken. I agree that in their endeavour to ensure the conditions they need for their activity, the Bund did allow unacceptable separatist tendencies to appear in certain points in their rules. But I consider their proposal in its new form to be wholly acceptable, and I shall speak in favour of many of its points, when we discuss Party organisation in general, as being suitable for *all* sections of the Party. I would only propose that the expression 'representation of the Bund' be replaced by 'representatives of the Bund'. This will provide the Bund with a necessary and sufficient guarantee that its interests will be adequately represented in all the Party's organs.

*Martov:* The new proposal introduced by the comrades from the Bund alters the question which is before us in discussing Point 2 of the Agenda. The previous rules gave an integral and clear, *principled* answer to the question of the place of the Bund. Therefore, in our resolution of principle we included a principled evaluation of the rules as they were first presented. The second version gives no such precise answer. In it the principle of autonomy is interwoven with the federalist principle. We cannot now discuss and *vote* on the details of a proposal for *one section of the rules* of the Party, for these details must be determined by the nature of the Party's organisation in general. As

we do not at present know what form this organisation is to take, we cannot decide on these details. If, therefore, the comrades from the Bund will not withdraw their new draft from discussion under Point 2 of the Agenda, then we shall have, in our resolution of principle, in one way or another to reject the new rules altogether! If the Bund wants us to discuss them in detail, then it must withdraw them *now*. If the Bund will not do this, then we shall say, deleting from our proposed resolution the words referring to the first set of rules: 'even as expressed in amended form'.

*Lieber*: Martov's proposal cannot be accepted. He says that federal relations are proposed in our draft. I say that this is not so, although I am in favour of federation. And in view of the fact that the resolution of principle prejudices the question of the new rules we have presented, I insist on a detailed examination of these new rules. How, indeed, can we adopt a general resolution if we have not yet analysed whether the federal principle is embodied in the new rules, and nobody has spoken against federalism on grounds of principle? We have not prejudged the question either, and do not want to smuggle the federal principle in as contraband, so that it is pointless for Martov to stand at the customs-barrier proposing that a bull be promulgated against us.

*Plekhanov*: Lieber's practical proposal amounts to this, that we should not adopt a decision of principle. I protest against this proposal. I am not thinking of arguing against a definite proposal by the Bund. We want agreement with this Party organisation, but, unfortunately, a question has arisen in our Party publications: autonomy or federation? This question seemed to the congress so important that it decided to place discussion of it first on the agenda. And after two days of debate, after we have heard Lieber's thoughts on the delights of federation, it would be strange not to strike the balance of what we have arrived at. Since the majority have expressed themselves against the federal principle, it would be strange, pointless and illogical to refrain from passing a resolution. Since the federal principle is seen as being harmful, bringing disruption and death, a resolution ought to be passed, and in it we should say that we reject federation. Martov was right when he said that, without discussing the details of the rules, we ought to say in the resolution of principle: in so far as the federal principle is present in the proposal presented by the comrades from the Bund, to that extent we reject it. Although the new proposal

includes concessions, its basis is still the federal principle — at least, that is my personal opinion. If we declare against federalism, we thereby declare against the points referred to, while postponing discussion of the details of the suggested rules until we come to Point 6 of the agenda.

*Martov:* Comrade Lieber does not respect the agenda which we agreed upon. We understood that the rules as first presented were the Bund's answer to the question about 'the position of the Bund in the Party'. The second version does not provide an answer to this question. Therefore I propose that it be withdrawn, and brought forward again when we are working out the general Party rules. At present it can be adopted or rejected only as a whole. But since we cannot do that, as the second version gives no direct answer to the question before us, the Bund should withdraw it. In our resolution of principle we are answering not only the Bund but other organisations as well.

*Hofman:* I must observe that Comrades Plekhanov and Martov have tried to alter the agenda. We urged that the question of the Bund be discussed in connection with the question of Party organisation. But the congress majority decided to deal with it as the first point on the agenda. They told us that there was a radical difference in the Party on the organisation question, which must first of all be eliminated at all costs, and this was how the need to separate the question of the Bund from the general question of the organisation of the Party was justified. The question was taken separately — and now they want to transfer it to the heading of 'organisation'. The first point on the agenda is called: 'The place of the Bund in the Party'. The place of the Bund can be defined only in a concrete way, and we have presented a perfectly concrete proposal under this heading, and until this proposal has been discussed we cannot proceed to the next point on the agenda. It is permissible during a debate to adopt a resolution of principle, but the congress has no right to strike out the question of the Bund and replace it by the question of principle: 'autonomy or federation'. The congress majority can, of course, act as it thinks fit and force a change in the agenda. There is no way of stopping that. But it would be wrong for it so to act.

Now a few words about Comrade Martov's resolution. We have been reproached with desiring to bring about an organisational revolution. I shall now show that this is what Point 3 of Martov's resolution aims to do, when it says: 'This unity in no way excludes the

independence of the Jewish workers' movement in all matters relating to the particular tasks of agitation among the Jewish population which are determined by special features of language and conditions of life.' The Manifesto speaks of autonomy in relation to questions specially affecting the Jewish proletariat. Now they want to narrow this independence and reduce it to the technical autonomy possessed by every committee. They want to put the Bund on the same footing as an ordinary committee, with only this difference, that the Bund's technical autonomy is to apply over a larger area. This is equivalent to effecting an organisational revolution. If it is desired to discuss Martov's resolution, then it ought to be clearly stipulated in that resolution that adopting it does not exclude the possibility of discussing the rules we introduced.

*Trotsky:* I do not understand why the comrades from the Bund are opposing the resolution of principle. We were offered draft rules in which, as the rapporteur himself stated, the principle of federation was embodied. Our discussions, which undoubtedly revealed the congress's negative attitude to the principle of federation, obliged the comrades from the Bund to withdraw their draft. We, as 'doctrinaires', want to consolidate that stage in our debate by means of a resolution. After this — disposing of the question of federation — we shall have taken a step forward.

But, we are asked, why should this resolution of principle be taken in connection with the Bund? In general, though, when do we adopt resolutions of principle? When Party life demands this. We are not academics, we are politicians. We need to express at this moment our attitude to the principle of federation. Why do we link this question with the Bund? Because the Bund has linked itself with this question.

We are 'doctrinaires'. We examined the first draft of the rules point by point not in order to haggle over it *piecemeal* but in order, by analysing these points, to reveal the basis of principle underlying the draft, namely, *federalism*, and to reject this draft *en bloc*. The comrades of the Bund have presented a new draft. They want us to examine it point by point. Why? So as to adopt it or reject it *piecemeal*? As 'doctrinaires', we shall not do that. We are ready to look at it, but only in order to check it over from the standpoint of *principle*, and, depending on what we find, either to reject it altogether or to postpone discussion of it until the time comes to talk about questions of organisation generally.



Comrade Hofman, replying to Comrade Martov, asked with horror: does this mean that you understand autonomy for the Bund as being the same as for local committees, that is, purely technical in character? Yes, as we see it, the Bund's autonomy is no different in principle from that of any committee. If implementing the general Party programme, in the framework of the tactics approved by our congresses, is to be called a technical matter, then the autonomy of each committee, and of the Bund, is purely technical. But the Bund's autonomy is wider in so far as the area of its work is wider, and in so far as this work is carried out under the special conditions of a special milieu.

I must also mention one point which inevitably recurs in every speech by a comrade from the Bund, namely, the remark about the inconvenience of the agenda we have adopted. In proof of this they refer to the abnormal course taken by our debate. The Bundist comrades forget that we are not in a position to make a concrete comparison, as we cannot carry out the costly experiment of discussing the matter in the order which the Bund delegation wanted. On the basis of the general considerations which I have set forth, I think and I declare that the agenda we adopted was the right one, since, because of it, all those complications have been brought to light which otherwise would have weighed upon our discussions in a disguised form.

*Plekhanov:* I make two observations to Comrade Hofman. The first relates to the question of technical autonomy. Everything that goes beyond the limits of *this* autonomy we regard as federalism, and reject as such. But the limits of technical autonomy can be wider or narrower. And we have no intention of narrowing them. It is said that we have altered the agenda. Actually there has been no alteration. This is seen in the fact that we want to take our stand on principle. The second point in the agenda is entitled: 'The place of the Bund in the Party'. We want to give this answer: the Bund's place must not be determined by federal principles. Will that be a digression? No, it will be a clear, categorical and unequivocal reply to the second question on the agenda. This answer will not be to the liking of the Bund, but we are not obliged to please the Bund, and the congress can with a good conscience pass the resolution which has been moved.

*Lieber:* I support Hofman's statement, and I repeat that Comrades Plekhanov and Martov are altering the agenda. I will explain. By

putting the question as 'autonomy or federation', they presuppose that our draft rules must fall under one or other of those headings, whereas a third category is possible. It is not enough to say: we are against federation. We ought also to give a positive answer as to what we do stand for. This answer we have given in our draft rules, but nobody else has given any answer at all. It is said that the question was put in that way in the publications of the Bund, but that is no argument: we shall talk about that when we analyse our publications. In *Iskra* the question was raised: 'Does the Jewish proletariat need an independent political party?' and they answered in the negative, but we are not dealing with that question now.

Martov's resolution must be rejected, since, while rejecting federation, it offers nothing positive. The answer we have given is no less principled because it is not expressed in one word, as Comrade Plekhanov wants, but in the rules as a whole. We do not accept Martov's resolution, because it is 'positive' only in a very hazy and unclear way. Comrades Plekhanov and Trotsky were more consistent. We will accept a resolution which rejects two or three of our points, but we shall not be so naive as to offer a second time what has already been rejected. I propose that the congress should either not consider the rules at all, or else take them point by point.

*The session was closed*

## Eighth Session

*(Present: 42 delegates with 51 deciding votes and  
8 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The debate on the second item of the agenda continued.*

*Rusov:* The comrades from the Bund, especially Comrade Lieber, have continually said that we should examine the rules they have proposed, point by point, rather than try to define their basis in a few words and then pass a resolution. Comrade Lieber says that a point-by-point examination of the draft rules will amount in itself to a settlement of the question of principle. This seems to me to show unfounded alarm in face of concern for principle. One cannot compose rules without being guided by some definite principle, unless the rules are themselves unprincipled, and I don't think the comrades from the Bund would describe their proposal in that way. Let us then try to discover the not-quite-overtly expressed basis of principle in the new rules which have been put forward. In the second point we encounter an idea which contradicts the fundamental proposition of international socialism about solidarity of the proletariat's class interests. It demands special representation of the interests of the Jewish proletariat. There would be sense in such representation if the class interests of the Jewish and Russian proletariats were in some way incompatible. But this is not so, and cannot be so. It is another matter if we are talking about group interests, as, for instance, the conflict of interest between the American workers and immigrants from China, or between the Batum workers and immigrants from Turkey. Contradictions such as these have nothing to do with class interests. To accept this point in the new rules — having accepted which we ought logically also to accept federation — means, as Comrade Trotsky rightly said, signing a declaration of no confidence in ourselves. But

the principle of federation is perceptible not only in this point. According to the third point, the Bund is to elect its representation in the Party's central institution, although Comrade Lieber explains that the Bund's representative, by entering the Central Committee, thereby becomes merely a Party member. If he is to be merely a Party member, then why, one would like to know, does he have to be from the Bund? Is it not clear that the comrades from the Bund want to retain a special representation of their own in the Party's central institutions, so as to look after the interests of their particular organisation? What does this mean, if not federation?

In my first speech I referred to the Bund's organisational separatism, and now this is clearly revealed in the aggrieved tone that Comrade Hofman adopts when the Bund is described as being on a par with a territorial organisation, or with Party committees. Comrades Trotsky and Plekhanov have already replied on this question, and I concur with them. Comrade Lieber kept saying that no-one who spoke had explained how he conceived the relations between the Bund and the Party. It seems to me that everyone plainly emphasised, and I myself said this earlier in so many words, that the ideal form of Party organisation would be to have a single Party committee in each town, working in whatever languages were required. It would have been desirable to apply this principle in the Western Territory, as elsewhere, but we have to reckon with historically-formed conditions. Therefore I support Comrade Martov's resolution.

*Trotsky:* The question of the place of the Bund in the Party arose from the outset as the question of federation versus autonomy. This question was put to us by the Bund, and the majority have declared against federation. The Bund has presented us with new rules in which the rapporteur himself is unable to discover any principle at all. The rapporteur has mistakenly said that, in rejecting federation, we have put forward no positive principle of Party organisation — 'for', he says, 'besides the principle of federation there can be a number of other principles'. That is a misunderstanding. I repeat, the question before us is this: federation or autonomy? Having rejected the former, we have established this positive definition: a united party with a greater or lesser, concretely determined, degree of autonomy for the sections of this party. That is why, if the second set of rules put to us were to be based on the principle of federation, we should have to reject them *en bloc*. But since, according to the comrades of the Bund,

this is not the case, it remains for us, having affirmed our position of principle, to defer detailed analysis of the rules put before us until the general discussion on organisation provided for under item 6 of our agenda. We shall then lay down in detail the extent and limits of the autonomy to be enjoyed by the Bund. Therefore I urge that we adopt the following resolution, which completely sums up the outcome of the discussion we have had. [*Reads the second part of Martov's resolution.*]

*It was proposed that the list of speakers be closed.*

**Akimov:** I consider that there is no need to close the list of speakers, since the question has already been adequately elucidated and it is hardly likely that this discussion can be prolonged. At the same time, after the speakers already listed have had their say it may be that there will be a need to answer them. [*It was decided to close the list of speakers.*]

**Lieber:** Among what 'various' races does the Jewish proletariat live? As far as I know, it lives not among races but among nations. What is meant in the resolution by 'independence of the Jewish labour movement'? If the Jewish labour movement is independent, then it ought to have an independent organisation.

**Trotsky:** Perhaps Comrade Lieber will move an amendment to the resolution?

**Lieber:** I cannot move an amendment until I have been given the explanation I have asked for. Perhaps this explanation will serve precisely to refute the resolution which has been moved.

**Trotsky:** There is nothing more I can say. Comrade Lieber's duty, since he does not find my idea clear enough, is to move an amendment. After all, the resolutions of this congress are composed not only for the benefit of its members but for that of all who are interested in the congress.

*At the chairman's suggestion, Comrade Trotsky explained that the words 'independence of the Jewish labour movement' referred to organisational independence, that is, to the autonomy of the Bund.*

**Plekhanov:** It would be desirable for Comrade Lieber to explain to us more precisely what his ethnographic views are, because the

'criticism' he has made will not itself stand up to criticism. In the present state of knowledge, at any rate, there is no exact definition of the concepts 'race' and 'nation', and we can speak either of the Lithuanian race or of the Lithuanian nation.

*Martov:* Evidently Comrade Lieber favours the old way of dividing up mankind into five races, which is found in some works . . .

*Trotsky:* Especially in schoolbooks.

*Martov:* Yes, in schoolbooks.

*Posadovsky:* At the present time it is the fate of the Jewish proletariat to live with non-Jewish proletarians as to whom there can be no doubt, even from the standpoint of primitive textbooks, that they belong to a race differing from that of the Jews. In Caucasia, for instance, the Jews live alongside Tatars who, as is known, are related to the Mongols, in Kazan they also live with Tatars, in Siberia they live with Buryats, Chinese, and so on. Consequently, I favour the retention in Comrade Martov's resolution of the word 'races', since this broadens its application.

*Hofman:* I demand, on behalf of my comrades, that the congress immediately consider our proposal, since it provides a direct answer to the second item on the agenda.

*Martov:* We do indeed have to answer the second item of the agenda, since we are discussing the question of the *place* of the Bund in the Party, and our resolution offers a quite direct and principled answer to that question, whereas the answer presented to us by the Bund offers us eight mutually contradictory points. Consequently we must pass over the 'draft' which has been put before us, deferring discussion of it until we come to the sixth item of our agenda. There would be no point in our making a detailed analysis of the draft at this stage. A practical discussion of the question of the Bund's place in the Party is impossible until we have defined in principle the Bund's place in the general system of Party organisation.

*Lenin:* I do not understand what practical significance Comrade Lieber's proposal possesses. He says that in our resolution we do not answer the question embodied in the agenda, but the entire difference consists in the fact that whereas in the agenda the word 'place' is used, in the resolution we have the word 'position'. Since no third proposal

is before us, there is nothing to be done but, having defined our attitude in principle, to reserve the right to discuss the matter concretely when it becomes appropriate to do this.

*Yudin* asked, on behalf of the delegates from the Bund, for an adjournment so that they could confer.

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*After the adjournment, Comrade Lieber took the floor to insist, on behalf of the Bund delegation, that their proposal be discussed forthwith:* If this proposal is rejected [*he said*] then we move the following amendment to the third point in Martov's resolution, with which we entirely disagree: ' . . . that this unity in no way excludes the independence in all questions specially concerning the Jewish proletariat which was conferred on the Bund by the First Congress of the RSDLP.' My reason for this is that our amendment repeats what was said in the resolution of the First Congress, and we should stick to the formulation laid down by that congress.

*Martynov* moved an amendment to the third point of Martov's resolution, arguing that in its altered form this was less definite than that which he, Martynov, was proposing.\*

*Lange* moved an addition to the third point of Martov's resolution: after the words 'special features of language and way of life' to insert 'in localities where such special features are found'.

*The rapporteur (Lieber) and co-rapporteur (Martov)* waived their right to make concluding speeches. *Lieber* explained that he declined to speak because 'we are now discussing in principle a question which is not the one that we were discussing yesterday'.

*Martov:* I also renounce my right to speak. I wish merely to say that

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\* Martynov's amendment to Martov's resolution: 'The second ordinary congress of the Party declares that the Bund remains in the Party at present as an entity in the form in which it existed before the Fourth Congress of the Bund — that is, before it began to apply in practice the principle of federal relations — provided that it submits unconditionally to all the Party's central institutions.'

Lieber's amendment defines the position of the Bund in the Party just as unclearly as it was formulated at the First Congress.

*After a short discussion on voting procedure, the congress voted on the amendments. Lange's amendment received one vote. The amendment moved by Lieber, for the Bund delegation, received 13 votes, with 26 against.*

*A proposal signed by ten delegates was moved and adopted, for a roll-call vote on Martov's resolution. The voting was: 45 for, 5 against.\**

*Also voted on, and rejected by 41 to 5, was the proposal by the Bund delegates for immediate point-by-point examination of the proposed draft rules.*

*Martynov's resolution received one vote.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss the third item on the agenda: The Programme of the RSDLP.*

*Martynov:* I propose that we take from among the several drafts the draft programme which was composed by *Iskra* and *Zarya*. As regards the actual form of the discussion, we should first consider, *en bloc*, the section of the general programme which lays down principles, and then the remainder of it. When we discuss the 'principles' section, a general discussion should be followed by discussion of the separate points in this section, and, to conclude, we should take amendments to the separate points in this 'principles' section.

*Martov:* Before we elect the programme commission we should make a general analysis of the programme, and then submit amendments when the draft is discussed in commission.

*The congress decided to take the Iskra-Zarya programme as basis for discussion, and proceeded to discuss its general section.*

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\* The following voted for the resolution: Rusov (2 votes), Bekov (2 votes), Karsky (2 votes), Makhov (2 votes), Lvov (2 votes), Gusev, Tsaryov, Osipov, Kotich, Medvedev, Ivanov, Pavlovich, Stepanov, Panin, Srokin, Byelov, Lyadov, Gorin, Fomin, Muravyov, Lange, Dyedov, Trotsky, Posadovsky, Lensky, Orlov, Popov, Yegorov, Gorsky, Brouckère, Akimov, Martynov, Plekhanov, Deutsch, Lenin (2 votes), Martov (2 votes), Hertz, Braun. Against were: Hofman, Goldblatt, Yudin, Leiber, Abramson.



*Martynov*: The section of *Iskra's* draft programme dealing with principles has one feature which distinguishes it from all the other Social-Democratic programmes in Europe. In all those programmes it is said, in one form or another, in strict conformity with the principles of Marxism, that the development of capitalist society necessarily creates not only the material but also the spiritual conditions for the realisation of socialism, that is, it contributes to the development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat, intensifying the struggle of the proletariat against the whole capitalist system. This proposition is nowhere to be found in *Iskra's* draft programme.

In the 'principles' part of the *Guesdiste* programme, which is very concisely worded, it is stated in a general way only: '*Considérant que la forme collective, dont les éléments matériels et intellectuels sont constitués par le développement même de la classe capitaliste, etc.*'\*

In the Austrian *Hainfeld*<sup>1</sup> programme we read: '*Während gleichzeitig für die Form des gemeinsamen Besitzes die nothwendigen geistigen und materiellen Vorbedigungen geschaffen werden . . .*' Then, later: '*Der Träger dieser (geschichtlich nothwendigen) Entwicklung kann nur das klassenbewusste und als politische Partei organisierte Proletariat sein.*'†

In the *Erfurt* programme we read: 'It (i.e., the social revolution) can only be the work of the working class . . . The struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation is inevitably a political struggle. The working class cannot wage its economic struggle and develop its economic organisation without political rights. It cannot cause the means of production to pass into social ownership unless it has previously conquered political power.'

In this paragraph the content of the concept 'struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation' is defined. It includes both the trade-union struggle, which requires a struggle for certain political rights, and the struggle for economic emancipation, which requires the conquest of political power. It thus signifies the struggle for socialism.

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\* 'Considering that the collective form, the material and intellectual elements of which are constituted by the development of the capitalist class itself, etc.'

† 'While at the same time the spiritual and material pre-conditions are created for the form of common ownership...' 'The bearer of this (historically necessary) development can only be the class conscious proletariat, organised as a political party.'

In the succeeding paragraph it is stated that the task of the Social-Democratic party is precisely to develop this inevitable tendency of the proletariat to fight for socialism. 'To organise this struggle of the working class, to unify it, to make it conscious and to explain to it its necessary ultimate aim — this is the task of the Social-Democratic party. The basis of the Party's activity is here, therefore, the objectively inevitable political struggle of the proletariat.'

Finally, in the most recent (*Vienna*) programme of the Austrian Social-Democratic party we read: 'At the same time the proletariat becomes conscious that it must contribute to this development and hasten it, that the transformation of the means of production into social property of the whole people must be the aim, and conquest of political power the means, of its struggle for the emancipation of the working class.'

So we see that in all Social-Democratic programmes mention is made of the spiritual pre-conditions for socialism, of the inevitable tendency of the working class to struggle for socialism.

There is no such proposition in the draft programme of *Iskra*.

In the place where, according to the sense of the programme, the spiritual pre-conditions for socialism, the active role of the proletariat should have been mentioned, all that is said is: 'The numbers and cohesion of the proletarians increase and their struggle against their exploiters intensifies.'

But it is clear that 'the struggle of the proletarians against their exploiters' does not cover the concept of 'struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation'. Whereas the latter expression, used in the Erfurt Programme, embraces the entire content of the class struggle of the proletariat, the former expression signifies, rather, only the elementary form of this struggle — the trade-union struggle. The draft programme states merely that, by itself, the proletariat inevitably engages in trade-union struggle against the capitalists. This interpretation of that passage is all the better-founded in that nothing is said anywhere in the draft about the development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat being an inevitable consequence of the development of capitalist society.

How are we to account for the fact that in *Iskra's* draft programme we find no mention of a proposition of principle which is set forth, in one way or another, in all Social-Democratic programmes?

Undoubtedly we see here the influence of the recent fight against so-called economism, and in particular the influence of a basic theoretical argument which was advanced during that fight by Comrade Lenin, the author of the pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*

Let us look and see what scientific value this thesis possesses.

Comrade Lenin writes: 'The spontaneous development of the working-class movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology . . . for the spontaneous working-class movement is trade-unionism, is *Nur-Gewerkschaftlerei*, and trade-unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie . . . The history of all countries shows that by its own efforts alone the working class is able to develop only trade-unionist consciousness, that is, conviction of the need to unite in trade unions, to wage a struggle against the employers, to obtain from the government various laws which the workers need,' and so on.

This is the modest, or, rather, the negative role which Comrade Lenin assigns to the proletariat in the elaboration of its own socialist ideology. In his view, 'there can be no question of an independent ideology being worked out by the mass of the workers in the process of their movement . . .' 'Social-democratic consciousness can be introduced only from without . . . The theory of socialism grew out of philosophical, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, intellectuals. By their social status the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. . .'

If this is true, if the proletariat spontaneously tends towards bourgeois ideology, if socialism is developed outside the proletariat, then the spreading of socialism among the workers must take the form of a *struggle* between the ideology of the proletariat and its own spontaneous tendencies, and Comrade Lenin draws that conclusion: 'Our task, the task of a Social-Democrat, consists in struggle against spontaneity, so as to *divert* the working-class movement from this spontaneous trade-unionist tendency to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie. . .'

Comrade Lenin sees antagonism between the ideology of the proletariat and the mission of the proletariat. I observe an antagonism between Lenin's thesis and that which was voiced on many occasions by Marx and Engels. Listen to what Marx says in *The Poverty of Philosophy*: 'In the measure that history moves forward, and with it

the struggle of the proletariat assumes clearer outlines, they (the socialists) no longer need to seek science in their minds; they have only to take note of what is happening before their eyes and to become the mouthpiece of this.'

Engels, in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* speaks even more plainly: 'Modern socialism is nothing but the reflex in thought of this actual conflict (between the productive forces and the mode of production), its ideal reflection in the minds first of the class which is directly suffering under it — the working class. . . Scientific socialism (is) the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement.'

In *The Eighteenth Brumaire* Marx states a general proposition regarding the relation between the ideologists of any class and the class itself. 'What makes (the democrats) representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie is the fact that in their minds they do not go beyond the limits which the latter do not go beyond in life, that they are consequently driven theoretically to the same tasks and solutions to which material interest and social position practically drive the latter. This is in general the relationship of the political and literary representatives of a class to the class they represent.'

So say Marx and Engels. But Comrade Lenin assures us that 'the history of all countries shows', etc.

We must suppose, then, that one of two things is true. Either the experience of all countries testifies against the words I have quoted from Marx, or Comrade Lenin has failed to throw light on this experience from the standpoint of Marx. I incline towards the latter view. What the history of all countries tells me is that modern socialism has arisen as a product of the movement of the proletariat, and that 'the spontaneous development of the working-class movement leads to its becoming subordinated' not to bourgeois ideology but to modern scientific socialism. In order to find confirmation of this view of history it is above all necessary not to interpret it naively, not to suppose that the proletariat elaborates its ideology exclusively on the basis of experience of its own *internal* life, independently of the traditions it inherits or the contemporary social situation surrounding it, not to suppose that the proletariat develops its ideology like the spider drawing its web out of its own back.

While disputing Proudhon's view that all *preceding* centuries had been designed by providence for the accomplishment of the idea of equality, Marx nevertheless did not find it possible to declare that this idea sprang like Minerva from the head of Jove: the creative role of the

present generation, in his view, is expressed in its *transformation* of the results achieved by earlier generations. 'Economists,' he says, 'know very well that the very thing that was for the one a finished product was for the other but the raw material for new production.' The same idea is expressed by Engels in his *Ludwig Feuerbach*: 'In all ideological domains tradition forms a great conservative force. But the transformations which this material undergoes spring from class relations, that is to say, out of the economic relations of the persons who execute these transformations. And here that is sufficient.'

And so we Marxists affirm that the proletariat has elaborated independently its own socialist ideology; but by that we mean that the proletariat has independently transformed the ideology borrowed by it from its surroundings, in accordance with its own class interests.

In becoming distinguished as a particular class, separated out from the mass of the 'democracy', the proletariat at the same time transformed the former struggle of the 'democracy' against the feudal system into a new struggle, that of the working class against the bourgeois system.

When we trace the history of the rise of modern socialism we can easily perceive how the proletariat converted the economic and political struggle, the social ideals and philosophical world-outlook of the 'democracy' of the early nineteenth century into the corresponding elements of the modern socialist movement.

During the Great Revolution, the economic struggle of the 'democracy' was a struggle of the poor consumer against privilege, monopoly, usury and customs barriers. With the separation of the proletariat out of the 'democratic' mass, this form of economic struggle was transformed into the struggle of labour against capital. In England the first quarter of the nineteenth century was filled with the struggle of the proletariat for freedom to strike, which it won at last in 1825. Then came the period of the forming of 'grand national trades unions' (1825-1850). In France in 1831 the revolt of the Lyons weavers flared up, and in Germany in 1844 that of the weavers of Silesia.

Parallel with this, the European proletariat, which had previously functioned as the bourgeoisie's rearguard in its political struggle against the aristocracy, arrived by experience at awareness of the need for *independent* political struggle, directed against *all* the ruling classes. In England the reform of Parliament in 1831, which gave the bourgeoisie predominance over the landowners, was won with the help of the proletariat, who threatened to refuse to pay their taxes.

Cheated by this reform and embittered by the Poor Law of 1834, the proletariat broke with the middle bourgeoisie and, in alliance with the Radicals, launched the political struggle for the Charter. This was the first step in the development of political consciousness by the proletariat, and it was soon followed by a second. Subsequent experience showed the proletariat how inept the petty bourgeoisie were for decisive revolutionary struggle and how different were their economic interests (the proletariat demanded a ten-hour day, the petty bourgeoisie demanded repeal of the Corn Laws). Thus, in 1843, a split took place in the Chartist movement, between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. The proletariat took its second step forward and emerged as an independent political party, with the slogan — 'political power our means, social happiness our end'.

The same happened in France. In the July Revolution the proletariat was still helping the bourgeoisie to get the better of the landowners. Their betrayal by the big bourgeoisie taught the proletariat a lesson, and stimulated it to form an alliance with the radical petty bourgeoisie. In the revolt in Paris in 1832, in the revolts in Lyons and Paris in 1834 and in the revolt of 1839 the proletariat came forward as a revolutionary force, and its political leaders were semi-Radical, semi-Socialist societies (*Société des droits de l'homme*, *Société des Saisons*).<sup>2</sup> But this alliance did not last, either. The ups and downs of the February revolution, and especially the July revolt, opened the proletariat's eyes to the truth about the petty bourgeoisie. On December 10 the Mountain made its last attempt to act independently alongside the proletariat. On that same day the votes for Raspail and against Ledru-Rollin were, as Marx put it, 'the first act by which the proletariat, as an independent political party, cut loose from the democratic party'.

This was the initial process of development of the political consciousness of the proletariat. While the European proletariat was separating off from the 'democracy' into a distinct class, working out the forms of its own economic and political class struggle, its advanced sections were transforming the ideas of bourgeois socialism which they had learnt into the new idea of revolutionary proletarian communism. Socialism as a problem had, of course, appeared before the rise of the revolutionary force of the proletariat, which was capable of solving this problem. The rapid spread of socialism as an idea was the inevitable consequence of the contradiction between the democracy the Great Revolution had promised and that which it produced. But

until the proletariat, the true bearer of socialism, arrived on the scene of history, socialism was, and was bound to be, either utopian or petty-bourgeois. Now, however, with the 1830s, the proletariat everywhere lifted its head, and we can clearly see how, under its pressure and with its participation the ideas of socialism quickly began to change in content. The laboratory of this transformation was a series of French secret societies, to which similar German societies were affiliated: *Association pour la défense de la presse patriote* and the *Deutscher Bund zur Vertheidigung der Pressfreiheit* gave place to the *Société des Droits de l'Homme* and the *Bund der Geächteten*. They were succeeded by the *Société des Saisons* and the *Bund der Gerechten*. This series culminated in the Communist League which published the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels. These societies, which were at first purely radical, were gradually filled with members from the ranks of the proletarianised craftsmen. As a result, their character changed. From exclusive conspiratorial societies they were transformed into societies for open propaganda, and the ideas of bourgeois radicalism and petty-bourgeois socialism which had prevailed in them were replaced by the ideas of proletarian social revolution. In the *Bund der Geächteten* these two world-outlooks were still in conflict, in the persons of Venedey and Schuster: in the *Bund der Gerechten* the idea of social revolution obtained, at last, clear expression in the words of Weitling. Under the impression made on him by Weitling Marx said: 'The German proletariat is the *theoretician* of the European proletariat, just as the English proletariat is its *economist* and the French proletariat its *politician*.'<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the history of the first half of the nineteenth century shows graphically how the proletariat, arriving by experience at consciousness of its class interests, transformed all the old forms of the democratic movement into the new forms of the class movement of the workers. By the time that the Communist Manifesto appeared, the elements of the modern socialist movement — the struggle of labour against capital, the political struggle of the proletariat under its own flag, and the idea of the social revolution — were already present; but these elements, which had been worked out by different sections of the proletariat, had not been linked together. The economic struggle of the proletariat was isolated from its political struggle; the trade unions in England, for example, looked unsympathetically on the Chartist movement. In their turn, the political movements of the proletariat were not yet clearly linked with the idea of social revolu-

tion. The social ideals of the Chartists and of the so-called 'Social-Democrats' in France were extremely vague and confused. The first-named dreamt of a partial nationalisation of the land, of the development of small-scale farming, of state aid to associations of producers. The others fermented unclear notions about 'the right to work' and 'the organisation of labour'. They dreamt of achieving socialism *side by side* with the bourgeois system, and not upon its ruins. Finally, those proletarians who were aware of the necessity for social revolution (the Weitlingians) were unable to link this with awareness of the necessity for political struggle. Thus, although the principal elements of the modern socialist movement were present, they had not been co-ordinated, and so long as this task had not been accomplished the proletariat could not finally free itself from bourgeois influence, could not march with firm tread towards complete emancipation.

In order to crown the edifice of socialism it was necessary to unite these elements into one harmonious whole and provide the whole movement with a theoretical basis. This great work was accomplished by the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels.

Just as the economic, political and socialist elements of the proletarian movement were so many transformations of the corresponding forms of the radical-democratic movement, so the highest ideological superstructure of the proletarian movement, the theory of scientific socialism, was the result of a re-working of the theories of bourgeois philosophers and scholars. But whereas elaboration of the first-mentioned forms was predominantly the product of the experience and thinking of various sections of the proletariat, the creation of the theory of scientific socialism presupposed such an extensive scientific training as could be possessed only by professional intellectuals, men who came from the propertied classes. Such were the creators of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. Nevertheless, we do not concede even this creative work of theirs to the bourgeois intelligentsia. In order to accomplish the revolution in social thought they first had to abandon the viewpoint of bourgeois radicalism and take up that of the proletariat — not some abstract proletariat, but the actual proletariat of their own time. In other words, they were obliged first to side ideologically and morally with the movement of the proletariat which had already been formed by history. Their great revolutionary work was not, and could not have been, the fruit of mere study-bound thought. Engels says in *Ludwig Feuerbach*: 'When. . . it is a question of investigating the driving forces which consciously or unconsciously



. . . lie behind the motives of men in their historical actions . . . then it is not a question so much of the motives of single individuals, however eminent, as of those motives which set in motion great masses, whole peoples, and again whole classes of people in each people . . . ’

The biographies of Marx and Engels fully bear this out. They show us how the revolutionary movement of the proletariat wrested Marx and Engels from the ranks of the bourgeois democrats and gave a new direction to their theoretical thinking. In 1843 they were still to a considerable extent bourgeois radicals, with an idealistic outlook and seeing communism as a dogmatic abstraction. Marx wrote in those days to Ruge: ‘I am not in favour of raising any dogmatic banner . . . Communism, in particular, is a dogmatic abstraction . . . We want to influence our contemporaries, particularly our German contemporaries . . . In the first place religion, and next to it, politics, are the subjects which form the main interest of Germany today. We must take these, in whatever form they exist, as our point of departure, and not confront them with some ready-made system such as, for example, the *Voyage en Icarie*.’ That was how Marx and Engels reasoned at that time. They needed most of all to find a revolutionary force which would overturn the old political system of Germany. But already at that time the only revolutionary class was the proletariat, and this they discovered as soon as they crossed the frontier of their own country. It was natural that Marx, in his revolutionary quest, came into contact with the movement of the French proletariat and Engels with the British movement, with Chartism. Engels even participated in the Chartist movement, as a contributor to the *Northern Star*. The result of this contact was that a rapid and profound change took place in their views. So early as 1845 they published *The Holy Family*, the work in which they first set out the foundations of economic materialism, and in which, along with this, the proletarian point of view is clearly observable.

Thus, history gives us the right to say: first, all modern socialism is the product of the working class, though materials for it had already been made ready by the bourgeois democrats; and, secondly, in the elaboration of modern socialism, sections of the working class which differed in their levels of consciousness arrived *in practice*, gropingly, at the separate tasks and solutions which their ideologists discovered, synthesised and grounded *theoretically*. These propositions are of enormous importance. They contradict the thesis put forward by Comrade Lenin in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*, but they are

derived from the foundations of Marxism, and they are formulated in one way or another in all Social-Democratic programmes. They ought to be given clear expression in our programme too. To this end I propose that the passage I quoted from the draft programme to be replaced by the following: 'The numbers, cohesion and *consciousness* of the proletarians increase and the struggle of the masses of the workers against *exploitation* intensifies.'

I shall not now speak about my other, corresponding but less important amendments to the section of the programme dealing with principles. Here I will merely note that the fundamental idea which I have been expounding up to now is shared by all comrades in the organisation to which I belong. We are not, however, all agreed as to the conclusions to be drawn from these views. Therefore, I will from now on speak only for myself.

I have already said that the gap I pointed out in the *Iskra* programme is a reflection of the recent struggle against 'spontaneity', 'economism' and 'amateurism'. Now I want to ask if that practical consideration can serve as justification for a theoretical hiatus like this in the programme? Certainly not. The correct Marxist formulation of the question, which I propose, in no way opens the door to worship of spontaneity, economism or amateurism.

It does not open the door to worship of spontaneity. When we say that modern socialism is merely the most complete and conscious expression of the spontaneous tendency of the class struggle of the proletariat we not only do not play down the active role of consciousness and theory in our movement but, on the contrary, we raise this to its highest level. It is just because we are convinced that the development of the proletariat proceeds in accordance with the spontaneous laws of nature towards the realisation of our theoretical principles that we firmly and unwaveringly uphold these principles and reject all theoretical compromises arising from transient practical considerations. It is strange that I should have to prove to the editors of *Iskra* what Beltov proved to us.<sup>4</sup> It is strange that I should have to demonstrate that the maximum of freedom, activity and individual initiative is found where there is the maximum of necessity. In order to safeguard the movement from worship of the *momentary moods* of certain strata of the proletariat or the intelligentsia, Social-Democracy possesses only one means: it brings its activity into line with the *general tendencies* of the struggle of the working class as a whole.

Nor does the formulation of the question I have proposed, which is

normal in the international Social-Democratic movement, open the door to 'economism'. I know and I have already said that any particular form of the class struggle of the proletariat, taken by itself, separated from the other forms of the class struggle of the proletariat, is incapable of liberating the proletariat from bourgeois influences. This is why the bourgeois parties and the ideologists of the bourgeoisie try so hard to conceal the necessary link between the social revolution and the political and economic struggle of the proletariat. But I do not, of course, affirm that modern socialism expresses any one isolated form of the class struggle of the proletariat, such as the trade-union struggle, taken in isolation. On the contrary, I say that scientific socialism is the synthesis and theoretical expression of all the basic forms of the class struggle of the proletariat. This formulation commits us, of course, to resolute struggle against any attempt to narrow down the content and reduce the scope of the historically inevitable movement of the proletariat as a whole.

Finally, the formula I propose cannot, either, serve as cover for federalism and local amateurism. If modern socialism synthesises the different forms of the movement of the proletariat and reflects only its general historical tendency, then it is obvious that from that standpoint the organisation of the Social-Democratic Party must be sufficiently centralised to ensure that the common interests of the Social-Democratic movement as a whole take precedence over local interests within it. Thus, no practical considerations have furnished grounds for the compilers of the programme to refrain from including the generally-accepted formulation of the matter in question. They, however, evidently had a different opinion: they evidently thought that the generally-accepted formulation does not offer adequate safeguards against spontaneity, economism and amateurism. Therefore they gave us their own unclear formulation, which can easily be interpreted in the sense of the proposition defended in the pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*, in the sense of an antagonism between Social-Democracy and the spontaneous development of the working-class movement. What has been achieved in practice by this theory of Lenin's? It certainly offers a very sharp weapon for use against the tactical errors and omissions mentioned. But it also opens the door to other dangerous tactical errors; it opens a deep fissure between the leading elements in the movement and the working-class masses, between the activity of an exclusive party and the broad struggle of the working class.

We do not have to talk in hypothetical terms about these mistakes, since they have already revealed themselves to a sufficient extent, especially during the year or year-and-a-half of revolutionary upsurge in Russia which began with the March events.<sup>5</sup>

While previously too little attention was given to the theoretical development of the leading elements of the movement, since this time we have begun to neglect excessively the means for developing the consciousness of broad circles of the workers. Popular literature and the political independence of comparatively broad strata of the workers have been held in contempt, as phenomena which could have the effect of vulgarising our movement.

While previously the movement suffered from 'economic' narrowness, it has now begun to suffer from political diffuseness. The strengthening of political agitation and enlargement of its content were, of course, a very big step forward. But, first, unfortunately, in our political agitation we have begun to stress too much that which unites the proletariat with other oppositional elements in society, and too little that which distinguishes it as the most revolutionary class. Secondly, our political agitation has, unfortunately, begun to be separated from our social and economic agitation. Reading the proclamations and leaflets issued in this period by the Kiev Committee, and especially those issued by the Odessa 'Southern Revolutionary Union', it is often hard to define what there is in them that is specifically Social-Democratic, since they might just as well have been issued by political radicals. In these publications there is obviously something important which is not being given sufficient expression. It was due to this great defect that in this same period reports came from various parts of Russia that the workers in the study-circles were losing interest in purely socialist questions such as, for instance, the question of surplus-value, of the working day, and so on. This was written about in the *Arbeiterstimme*,<sup>6</sup> and we had letters about it from Saratov and other places.

While previously our movement suffered from disorderliness and amateurism, in this period, in contrast, there was introduced, and met with sympathy, a conspiratorial Jacobin plan of organisation which is essentially suitable not for the class party of the proletariat but for a radical party basing itself upon a variety of revolutionary elements.

Undoubtedly, in the period in question the Social-Democratic movement did, on the whole, take a very big step forward compared

with what we had before. But the Social-Democratic movement was also taken unawares in this period by the spontaneous growth of the revolutionary forces in Russia, and so Lenin's pamphlet reflected more or less the shortcomings of the particular moment, insofar as it was concerned not to criticise but to build a theory and outline positive prospects.

Fortunately, life itself soon contributed corrections to our criticism. The rapidly formed *Osvobozhdenie* party and the Socialist-Revolutionaries forced us to break off relations with them not only theoretically but in practice as well. On the other hand, the broad, rising wave of the revolutionary movement of the working-class masses forced us once again to try to strengthen our ties with these masses. And I must admit that *Iskra* responded with great sensitivity to these demands of life, that during the past year it has rid itself of many defects from which it suffered in the period of the struggle against economism. But let us hope that this process will be carried through consistently to the end and that it will be consolidated in a principled way.

Our movement has finally emerged from its childhood. It is beginning to get rid of one-sidedness and the tendency to make leaps. For this reason I consider that our programme of principle, too, not only should but can be made free from the traces of past extremisms. It has to provide a lasting foundation for all our future tactics, and so must be formulated just as objectively as the programmes of the advanced European Social-Democratic Parties.

*Martov:* I am amazed that all the considerations set out by Comrade Martynov should have resulted in nothing more than a proposal to insert the word 'consciousness' and to replace the word 'exploiters' by 'exploitation'. I cannot see the connection between a passage in Lenin's book and the absence of the word 'consciousness'. I have nothing against inserting this word. Comrade Martynov's argument against Lenin's phrase is based on confusion between two questions, which are situated on different planes. The quotations given by Comrade Martynov show us that this is so. For example, what does Marx say in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*? He defines the relation between the ideology of a particular class and the class itself. But Marx says nothing about the process which culminates in the elaboration by the working class of that world-outlook which expresses the conditions of the historical existence of the working class.

*Gorin:* We know of two serious conceptions of the historical process: materialism and idealism. A combination of the two, as an eclectic form, must be regarded as vulgar. We must also regard as vulgar both idealism and materialism themselves when these are conceived in their crude, direct meanings. Among us, vulgar idealism is represented by the doctrine of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and vulgar materialism by economism. For the latter outlook, no idea, no individuality, no consciousness possess any significance. The *Rabocheye Dyelo* group constitutes a fourth type — eclectic, but closely approximating to economism. Comrade Martynov — experienced in the discussions on economism — declares himself hostile to that conception, but he only wants to give somewhat more elegant expression to this fourth type. I am not going to try and find out why he had to quote Marx, Engels, Kautsky and others, endlessly, in various languages (among which I was afraid Spanish was going to turn up) as though, do you see, the factor of ideas had been overlooked. Only economic terms were being used: ‘exploiters’, ‘exploitation’, and there were no terms relating to anything different. To fill the gap Comrade Martynov proposes the word: ‘consciousness’. Then he goes for Comrade Lenin on the grounds that the latter attributes a spontaneous origin to the independent ideology of the proletariat. He sees as false Comrade Lenin’s proposition that the conscious element is introduced only by ideologists, and demonstrates that, on the contrary, the theories of the ideologists are worked out under the influence of the proletariat. Thereby he essentially seeks to show that these theories are spontaneous in origin. In actual fact, the point is merely that these theories do not fall from heaven but represent a certain induction from an objective process. I am not here going to say how correct I consider Comrade Lenin’s proposition to be. This question is too complex and has been too little analysed. But, in general, I think, the true course of the process has been defined. Comrade Martynov himself did not sustain his view regarding the independence of the proletariat, and he said that the proletariat, left to itself, falls under the influence of the bourgeoisie. Thereby he unintentionally acknowledged that the proletariat is unable, without influence from ideologists, to rise above purely instinctive opposition.

*Lieber:* Comrades, I suggest that the purpose of the present item on the agenda is not just to make certain changes in the draft programme, but also to call for some explanations. Not all of us are sufficiently

competent to work out a programme, but all of us do, of course, need to have a clear and uniform conception of what each point of the programme means. It is with a request for such an explanation that I rise to address you. In the third paragraph on the third page it is stated that 'the Social-Democrats of different countries are obliged to undertake different immediate tasks, both because this [capitalist] mode [of production] has not developed everywhere to the same degree and because its development in the different countries is coming to fruition under a variety of socio-political circumstances'. The question arises, is the social and political situation the same in all parts of a country like, for example Russia, where one part, namely Poland, has developed in the past in a distinct way, and so, can this point apply uniformly to the whole country? Later, in the same paragraph, where mention is made of survivals from pre-capitalist systems, such survivals as the vestiges of serfdom are quoted. But, for example, the Jewish proletariat has to struggle against such survivals as the middleman system, and so on.<sup>7</sup> These survivals set a sharp imprint on the entire struggle of the Jewish proletariat. Here again the question arises, can the general description of Russia which is given in this paragraph be taken as applicable to all parts of the country? This is the question which I should like to have explained.

*Lyadov:* I rise to speak in reply to Comrade Lieber. He asked for an explanation of the point in the programme which speaks of the need for a special organisation of Social-Democrats in each different country. He considers that, in accordance with this point, the Jewish proletariat has the right to an independent organisation, since the mutual relations between classes among the Jews are quite different from what they are in the rest of Russia. I think we cannot agree with Comrade Lieber. The Russian political system is the expression of the whole complex of economic conditions in different parts of Russia. The inter-relation of classes among the Jews is one of the details which make up the entire class physiognomy of Russia. I think that the proletariat living anywhere in Russia suffers in the same way from survivals of pre-capitalist relations, which are defended by one and the same government. The whole proletariat has a common enemy, and so the struggle against this enemy must be waged as a common struggle. As for the allegedly special struggle of the Jewish proletariat against an allegedly special form of exploitation, I must say that literally this same form of exploitation exists everywhere that we find

the domestic form of industry, the handicraft mode of production. The special form of exploitation which, according to Comrade Lieber, is a peculiarity affecting only the Jewish proletariat, exists in literally identical form in the Moscow, Vladimir and Pavlovo areas.

*After this, the congress proceeded to elect a commission to discuss the programme. Elected to this commission were: Plekhanov, Lenin, Akselrod, Starover, Yudin, Martynov and Yegorov.*

*The session was closed.*



## Ninth Session

*(Present: 42 delegates with 51 deciding votes and  
8 persons with consultative voice.)*

*After the reading and approval of the minutes of the fourth session, the congress continued its general discussion of the programme.*

**Gorin:** I do not intend to offer any criticism of the draft programme which has been presented to us. It gives a good formulation of the principles of Social-Democracy. But I do find a few inexactitudes in it. It is desirable that our programme should be distinguished not only by consistency of principle but also by meritorious editing, so as not to offer any handle to idle criticism. In the third paragraph I suggest that, instead of the words: 'On the basis of capitalist production-relations' we put: 'On the basis of the predominance of capitalist production-relations.' This formulation will be more appropriate for describing present-day bourgeois society, within which petty production has been retained. In the fourth paragraph, after the words: 'large-scale enterprises' I would add: 'and the simultaneous increase in the amount of social capital, which continually narrows the sphere in which the latter can be invested'. 'The economic weight of large enterprises', taken by itself, is a necessary but not a sufficient cause for the squeezing-out of small producers. This happens insofar as the simultaneous increase in capital cramps the spheres where this capital was invested previously, forcing it to invade those sphere which are occupied by small-scale production.

To the fourth paragraph I would add at the end: 'besides the direct tendency toward this which is due to the constant cheapening of the means of reproducing the commodity labour-power'. After all, the increase in the level of exploitation depends first and foremost on the cheapening of the workers' means of subsistence.

Only supplementary to this is the influence, tending in the same direction, produced by the fall in demand for labour-power, relative to the supply. I agree with the law of the relative decline in the demand for labour-power, recognised in this paragraph, insofar as this implies growth in the reserve army of labour as compared with the 'field army', and insofar as this growth is dependent on the fact that the labour-force as a whole is recruited at the time of absolute production, that is, when society's productive forces are strained to the utmost, and then part of this force is put in reserve when production falls to the level determined by social demand. My remaining editorial improvements I propose to hand to the special commission.

*Martynov:* Comrade Martov and Gorin have replied to me. Comrade Martov upholds the proposition which I criticised and Comrade Gorin has criticised the propositions I put forward. Let me begin with Comrade Martov's objections to what I said. First of all, he declared that I wilfully interpreted the passage from the programme which I quoted in the sense of the thesis propounded by Comrade Lenin in the pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* He said that the expression quoted by me should be understood in the broad sense of the class struggle of the proletariat, and not in the sense of the trade-union struggle alone, especially as, in the programme, discontent with the existing order is even ascribed to the entire mass of working people. I will answer that. In the first place, the discontent of the petty-bourgeoisie with the existing order can have nothing in common with the class-consciousness of the proletariat. In the second place, my interpretation is supported not only by the passage I quoted but also by some other passages in the programme, on which I will not dwell now. Then, Comrade Martov tried to defend Comrade Lenin's thesis. He tried to use the passage I quoted from *The Eighteenth Brumaire* in the spirit of Comrade Lenin. He showed, on the basis of Marx's words, that the ideologists of a particular class may, by their social origin, belong to a different class. I do not dispute this, of course. But why did Comrade Martov not explain to us how, if one takes Comrade Lenin's view, it is possible to agree with the second part of Marx's sentence: 'a social class is driven practically to the same conclusions as those to which its ideologists are driven theoretically'?

Then Comrade Martov told us that in Comrade Lenin's pamphlet the question is considered on a plane different from that of the programme. In the latter what is meant is the tendency of the working

class, in the former the internal process by which this tendency is elaborated. Recognising that the working class has an inevitable tendency towards socialism does not mean denying that this tendency is realised through influence by the intelligentsia on the working-class masses. I agree with that. But I claim that Comrade Lenin describes falsely the process whereby the tendency of the working class towards socialism is elaborated. In order to defend Comrade Lenin's theory, Comrade Martov has first touched it up. He says that among the masses of the proletariat there are opposing tendencies — towards socialism and towards 'bourgeois-ness' — and that the intelligentsia carries out an artificial choice between these tendencies. I say that, even in this corrected form, Comrade Lenin's theory is wrong. In general the working-class movement has no tendency towards bourgeois ideology. It bears a bourgeois imprint insofar as it has not yet freed itself from the influence of the bourgeois atmosphere in which it has grown up and in which it develops. Comrade Lenin asserts that the spontaneous movement of the working class is not that which breaks away from bourgeois ideology but that which subordinates itself to bourgeois ideology.

*Plekhanov:* I want to bring it to the attention of everyone, and of Comrade Martynov in particular, that he has transferred the argument to a terrain on which it is inexpedient to argue, a terrain on which controversy does not justify the effort unproductively expended.<sup>1</sup> The observation which he has directed *against the programme* is aimed at one phrase in one of the works of one of the editors of the draft programme. Even if we assume that the phrase was unfortunate, that would only show that all the rest of our ideas are excellent. Comrade Martynov's method reminds me of the censor who said: 'Give me the Lord's Prayer, and let me take one phrase from it, and I'll show you that the author ought to be hanged.' But all the reproaches directed against this unfortunate phrase, and not by Comrade Martynov alone but by many others, are based on a misunderstanding. Comrade Martynov quotes Engels's words: 'Scientific socialism is the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement.' Comrade Lenin agrees with Engels, too, and, if he didn't, he ought indeed to be hanged. But Engels's words amount, after all, only to a general proposition. The question is: who first formulates this 'theoretical expression'? Lenin was writing not a treatise on the philosophy of history, but a polemical article against the economists,

who said: we must wait for the working class to catch up, without the help of the 'revolutionary bacillus'. The latter was forbidden to tell the workers anything, precisely because it was a 'revolutionary bacillus', that is, because it possessed theoretical consciousness. But if you eliminate the 'bacillus', then you are left with a uniform unconscious mass, into which consciousness has to be injected from without. If you were to be fair to Lenin and read the whole of his book with attention, you would see that that is just what he says in it. Thus, speaking of the trade-union struggle, he develops that very idea that broad socialist consciousness can be introduced only from outside the limits of the direct struggle for improving the conditions which govern the sale of labour-power.

*Akimov:* I am handing to the commission some corrections to the draft programme, and what I want to do now is to explain the general considerations which have guided me in putting each of them forward.

I fully agree with Comrade Martynov that the point in the draft about which he spoke fully reflects Comrade Lenin's distinctive views about the anti-socialist ideology of the proletariat as such, and the conclusions to be drawn from this.

I regard as mistaken Comrade Plekhanov's view that the reference to Lenin's little book was unfounded. One cannot, he says, criticise a programme on the basis of one phrase in one book by one of the editors of the draft. The phrase of Comrade Lenin's which Comrade Martynov criticised is no isolated phrase, it expounds the fundamental idea of *What Is To Be Done?*, and this idea, it seems to me, finds expression in the draft programme. It is an idea that does not coincide at all with what Plekhanov wrote in his commentaries. And I am sure that Plekhanov does not agree with Lenin. [*Laughter.*] And I think Comrade Lenin himself will not refuse to confirm that this is *his view*, and not an isolated passage, a casual phrase. Here, for instance, is another extract from the pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* Note this statement, that the theory of scientific socialism 'arose quite independently of the working-class movement'. No, of course, it was not strikers who worked out the theory of scientific socialism. [*Laughter.*]

I do not agree with Comrade Martynov that only one or two corrections are needed to the paragraph in the draft which he mentioned. It seems to me that a wrong idea runs consistently and undilutedly all through the 'principles' section of the draft, from begin-

ning to end. The historical conditions under which this programme appeared have marked the document deeply. It was a period of powerful upsurge of political radicalism in all sections of Russian society. This was reflected in the fact that specifically proletarian forms of struggle were pushed into the background, the role of other strata of the oppressed population was overestimated in our party, and the very methods of struggle brought to the forefront not the class itself but its organisation, the Party, in which, as a result, the Party's class features and the mass character of its activity were glossed over and concealed.

In a general discussion I cannot mention all the corrections I intend to suggest. I shall refer to only a few of them, by way of commenting on what I have said.

The draft discusses whether or not an absolute worsening of the position of the working class takes place as capitalism develops. This question is connected with the question of the Party's methods of work. In West-European writings it has been said that the 'theory of impoverishment' runs counter to existing methods of agitation. Our programme ought to give a quite definite answer to this question, and thereby provide the Party with a guiding principle in its leadership of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat. In the draft this question is dealt with evasively, and, basically, in the sense that the fight for bettering the position of the proletariat is a side-issue for the Party and of interest to it only as furnishing the conjuncture within which it operates. Thus, in this point of the programme a tendency appears to separate our Party and its interests from the proletariat and the proletariat's interests.

This appears still more clearly in the paragraph on the tasks of the Party. Here the concepts 'Party' and 'proletariat' are completely separated and counterposed, with the former as an active collective personage and the second as a passive milieu upon which the Party exercises influence, because in the propositions in this draft the noun 'Party' always appears as the subject and the noun 'proletariat' as the object. [*Laughter.*]

Similarly, the paragraph on the conquest of political power has been formulated in such a way, as compared with the programmes of all other Social-Democratic parties, that it may be interpreted, and has actually been interpreted by Plekhanov, to mean that the role of the leading organisation is to relegate to the background the class it is leading and to separate the former from the latter. Consequently, the

formulation of our political tasks is exactly the same as that of *Narodnaya Volya*.

The point about the non-proletarian strata of the population, if it were put into effect, would make our Party not the party of the proletariat but a party of all the oppressed and exploited strata, that is, a party which would be neither revolutionary nor socialist.

Consequently, all my corrections have the purpose of altering the very spirit of the programme. Many of them are trivial if taken in isolation, but taken together, if they were adopted they would make substantial changes.

*Martov*: I quite fail to understand where Akimov could have perceived in our programme a tendency to play down the importance of the labour movement. Has this draft not been blamed, on the contrary, for saying too little in its theoretical section about the detailed tasks of the particular political moment in Russia, and dealing mainly with the general tasks of the world movement of the proletariat? It is a queer notion to see in the statements about the other sections of the working people a tendency to draw closer to the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The latter have said, on the contrary, that they would have accepted this item of our programme if, instead of: 'the point of view of the proletariat' we had written: 'the point of view of socialism'. The class character of the Party is expressed clearly enough there. The words 'of the working class' are used only in order to avoid repeating the word 'proletariat' twice in the same sentence. I don't know what Akimov means when he says that the programme reflects a contemptuous attitude to the workers' economic struggle. Is it his wish that instead of speaking about the struggle for the common *economic* aim of the entire labour movement, the social revolution, we should have spoken about the partial tasks of different groups of the proletariat? The passage dealing with the so-called 'theory of impoverishment' states the limits within which it is conceivable to improve the position of the working class under the capitalist system. It shows that the task of this struggle for immediate material improvement is to counteract the degrading tendencies of capitalist development, and the section of the programme which enumerates factory reforms provides the best answer to the reproach that we have ignored the struggle for immediate improvement.

Where has Akimov found evidence of our placing excessive hopes in other social movements? The latter are mentioned only at the end of

the draft, where it is said that we shall support any oppositional and revolutionary movement directed against Tsardom. Is Comrade Akimov opposed to that, perhaps? If he thinks that *Iskra* has now renounced the task of agitating among all strata of the population, then he is mistaken. We hope, on the contrary, that, with the restoration of the Party, we shall be able to widen the sphere of its influence; and I am not without hope that the time will come when Comrade Akimov himself will be detailed by the Party to carry out propaganda among those famous 'marshals of the nobility' on account of whom *Iskra* was subjected to particular reproach.<sup>2</sup>

*Karsky*: I completely fail to understand how the proletariat on its own, the working class in its day-to-day struggle, the struggle for its immediate interests, could have succeeded in creating the harmonious philosophical system of scientific socialism, embracing a whole philosophy of social development. I completely fail to understand how such a task could be accomplished by a section of society whose field of vision is limited, enclosed within certain bounds, and does not embrace the whole variety of social phenomena. This is the position of the mass of the working class, which cannot, with its own forces alone, on the basis of familiarity only with its own position, create the theory of scientific socialism. This theory could be created, at a certain stage of the development of capitalism, by a genius who had studied and elucidated for himself the laws governing this development. Such a revolution in social philosophy could be accomplished only by someone who took up the standpoint of the proletariat and who at the same time was able to build his edifice upon an historical study of the conditions of modern capitalism. In that sense, of course, the theory of socialism was brought to the working class from without. And it is strange to hear this view objected to. But it appears that those who disagree with us are under the influence of a certain idea regarding 'spontaneity' and 'stages'. Naturally, whoever defends 'spontaneity' also defends the idea of the spontaneous elaboration of the theory of socialism, and vice versa.

We always find another question connected with this one, namely, *the counterposing of the Party to the working class*. Comrade Akimov considers that the Party must not be placed above the working class. This way of posing the question seems to me both incorrect and out of place. From out of the working class there emerges a militant, conscious force, the Party, which is the bearer and promoter of socialist

ideals and, as such, the Party cannot but stand higher than 'the working class', since the conscious part of this class is the leader of the unconscious or inadequately conscious part.

I regard Comrade Akimov's objection on the third point, about the 'theory of impoverishment' as extremely significant. This theory must occupy a central position in our socialist world-outlook.

*Martynov:* Comrade Karsky said that my idea of the relation between the working class and socialist ideology was that the working class itself arrived at the theory of scientific socialism. I never said anything of the kind. I only said that different strata of the proletariat worked out independently the forms of economic and political class struggle and transformed the ideas of bourgeois socialism into communist ideas. The role of the ideologists was to synthesise these elements of the class struggle, to provide a theoretical foundation for this struggle. This work was accomplished, of course, not by workers, but by Marx and Engels and consisted in the transforming of past philosophical and social theories into the theory of scientific socialism. But Marx and Engels were able to accomplish this theoretical work only after they had broken with radicalism and adopted the standpoint of the proletariat — in other words, joined the movement of that class.

Up to this point we agree with Comrade Akimov's views. But we draw different conclusions from them. I do not deny either the theory of impoverishment or the dictatorship of the proletariat. I think this needs to be stressed. Later, Comrade Akimov, referring to me, said that the period which followed the period of economism was marked by a major defect, namely, political radicalism. We are not at all of one mind in the way we see that period. The movement, it seems to me, took a step forward then, and did so precisely because it assumed a political form. But at the same time big gaps appeared in the movement: political agitation was, in practice, poorly linked up with socialism; too much emphasis was laid on what united our political interests with those of the bourgeois opposition, and too little on what distinguished us from it.

*Lange* moved that the programme be voted on *en bloc* and its final editing referred to a commission.

*Trotsky* proposed that the list of speakers be closed.

*Akimov* opposed categorically the idea that the programme be voted



on *en bloc*. If that were done the programme would be deprived of all serious significance. It was probable that every one of the delegates could find some point in the draft programme which they did not agree with. When voting for the programme as a whole they would consider that particular point as not binding upon them.

*Martov* advocated voting on the programme *en bloc* after corrections had been made to it and it had been voted on point by point.

*Akimov* opposed the closing of the list of speakers on such an important question as the programme.

*Martov* saw no disadvantage in closing the list of speakers. When the programme came back from the commission the discussion would be renewed, point by point.

*Martynov* asked that, as rapporteur, he be allowed to make his concluding speech.

*Martov*: Comrade Martynov's report dealt with one amendment only, and now, when we are having a general discussion, a concluding speech by him would be pointless. It would be much better to let the rapporteur make his concluding speech at the end of the debate on the programme.

*Martynov*: The concluding speech does not depend on the content of the report, and the standing orders of the congress place no restrictions upon it.

*Brouckère* was against closing the list of speakers. Lenin and Plekhanov were on the list, and delegates would probably want to reply to what they said.

*Trotsky*: I did not mean a complete closure of the debate. After the programme has come back from the commission the debate will be resumed, but it will then have a more planned character.

*Trotsky's proposal was adopted, and Comrade Lange's rejected.*

*Plekhanov*: Comrade Akimov's views on the theory of impoverishment must logically and inevitably lead to opportunism. In Comrade Akimov's view, if I understood him correctly [*Akimov*: 'That's just it, you didn't understand me'], the position of the working class in

bourgeois society not only does not worsen absolutely but also does not worsen relatively. Comrade Akimov considers that even in present-day society it is possible for the material position of the proletariat as a whole to improve, and that these gradual improvements in the material conditions of existence of the working class can lead to socialism.

From these statements of Comrade Akimov's there logically follows denial of the 'increased dependence of wage-labour upon capital', of the 'increased level of exploitation'. From them there logically follows denial of the increase of social inequality, insecurity of existence, unemployment, and so on. Actually, if modern capitalism, the existence of the institution of private property, does not lead to relative, and even absolute, deterioration in the position of the working masses, if it does not lead, on the one hand, to the concentration of capital in a few hands, and, on the other, to the proletarianisation of the masses on an ever wider scale, then we must ask why a spirit of discontent, a revolutionary mood, should grow among the working class, why antagonism between classes should develop, why contradiction between classes should intensify? Denial of the theory of impoverishment is tantamount to tacit acceptance of the theory of opportunism. Bourgeois economists writing in the spirit of Bastiat, such as Giffen or Leroy-Beaulieu and their pupils in the struggle against revolutionary socialism, argue first and foremost, in the same way as Comrade Akimov, that is, they deny the theory of impoverishment and assure us of a progressive improvement in the position of the working masses, and so on. Bourgeois writers have correctly understood the importance of this theory. On the other hand, denial of this theory has led Bernstein and his supporters to Bernsteinism and Jaurèsism, that is, to opportunism. Indeed, if the position of the working class is gradually improving, if such an improvement is even now attainable for wider and wider masses, then, naturally, the reformist socialists have all the chances and every right to appear as the true spokesmen and defenders of the interests of the proletariat, and revolutionary Social-Democracy must take its stand under the banner of opportunism. But no, Comrade Akimov, we are not going to stand under that banner: the steadily developing deterioration, both relative and absolute, in the position of ever broader masses of the proletariat summons us to rally under the banner of revolutionary Social-Democracy. We stand and shall continue to stand beneath *that* banner.

*Gorin:* Economism as such has disappeared from the scene. But a tendency remains which might be called a federal relationship with economism. This tendency is incapable of understanding our point of view. Its supporters have understood the statement which has been made that Russian Social-Democracy arose independently of the working-class movement as an assertion made by us in an absolute, metaphysical sense, and they blame us accordingly. What we have said relates to a fact, and does not express any social philosophy or conception of history. We have simply said that Russian Social-Democracy was first of all merely an imported doctrine, which antedated the rise of the labour movement in Russia. But Russian Social-Democracy did not fall from heaven. Having arisen as a populist doctrine along with other Russian revolutionary doctrines, it assumed Social-Democratic form under the pressure of the West-European labour movement and West-European scientific socialism, and only later did Russian Social-Democracy link itself practically with the Russian labour movement.

It is important to dissociate oneself from the vulgar form of materialism which understands the dependence of the ideology of revolutionaries on external circumstances as meaning their dependence on the spontaneous ideology of the proletariat. If it is not vulgar revolutionaries that we have in mind, their ideology was elaborated according to other standards. Let me explain. The average man can be likened to a short-sighted person who sees only a narrow circle around himself and judges the rest of space by analogy with his own little spot. A man with an exceptional mind is long-sighted, and sees everything in space more or less equally clearly. This is why men of genius can break away from the ideology of their own class and take up a universal-human standpoint, influenced only by objective facts and the findings of science. The true ideologists of the proletariat occupy a middle position between such exceptional men and the mass of mankind. They are to a considerable extent objective, but eventually what they work out is a proletarian ideology, in so far as they, to a certain extent, come close to the proletariat economically. The proletariat *en masse* is not capable of doing this. What would the situation be if the proletariat were left to itself? It would be like the situation that existed on the eve of the bourgeois revolution. The bourgeois revolutionaries possessed no scientific theory. And yet, the bourgeois system arose. Even without ideologists the proletariat would, of course, eventually work towards social revolution, but only in an instinctive way.

Large-scale enterprises grow. In its struggle to overcome crises the bourgeoisie of every branch becomes merged into a single syndicate, with monopoly prices for the goods they produce. The syndicates agree on the norms of exchange. Exchange and commodity relations between capitalists disappear. On the other hand, the syndicate of the capitalists confronts the syndicate of all the workers. The ratio between wages and surplus value is laid down once and for all. Labour-power ceases to be a commodity. It is understood that the syndicate of capitalists can be replaced by the syndicate of workers. The proletariat would put socialism into effect instinctively, but it would not have any theory of socialism. The process would be slow and more painful than if it were helped along by revolutionary ideologists who set a definite aim and foresee what we are moving towards.

*Lieber:* I also disagree with the idea expressed by Comrade Lenin which has been discussed here. I consider that, among the objective factors under the influence of which the ideology of the Social-Democratic intelligentsia, made up of persons of bourgeois origin, is formed, Comrade Lenin underestimates the influence of proletarian psychology. But since I cannot trace the influence of Comrade Lenin in the draft which has been presented to us, I shall not pursue that subject.

I pass to consideration of two places in the draft in which, it seems to me, the line of demarcation is not drawn sharply enough between our point of view on the proletariat and that of the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries'. In one passage it is said that the Social-Democrats must reveal to the proletariat 'the contradiction between the interests of the exploiters and those of the exploited'. In capitalist society it is not only the proletariat that is exploited: what distinguishes the proletariat from the other exploited strata is the specific character of the exploitation to which it is subjected. Further, at the end of this same paragraph it is said: 'The Party of the working class, the Social-Democratic Party, summons to its ranks all sections of the working and exploited population, in so far as they go over to the standpoint of the proletariat.' It seems to me that this thesis can give rise to misunderstanding. Can non-proletarian sections of the population, as whole sections, actually go over to the standpoint of the proletariat? I think they never can. Of course, in its fight for its minimum programme the Social-Democratic movement can attract to

its side the sympathy of other sections of the populations, which see in it the most resolute defender of democracy; but only the proletariat can and will fight for the maximum programme, for socialism, and only isolated individuals from other sections can resolutely go over to the standpoint of the proletariat.

*Lenin:* First of all, I must mention the extremely characteristic way in which Comrade Lieber confuses a Marshal of the Nobility with a section of the working and exploited people. This confusion has featured in all the debates. Isolated episodes of our controversy are everywhere being confused with the laying down of basic principles. One cannot deny, as Comrade Lieber does, the possibility of even a *section* (one or another) of the working and exploited population coming over to the side of the proletariat. You will recall that in 1852, referring to the revolt of the French peasants, Marx wrote (in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*) that the peasantry acts sometimes as a representative of the past and sometimes as a representative of the future; it is possible to appeal not only to the peasant's prejudice but also to his judgment.<sup>3</sup> You will further recall that Marx said that the Communards were quite right in declaring that the cause of the Commune was the cause of the peasantry as well.<sup>4</sup> I repeat, it cannot be doubted that, under certain conditions, it is by no means impossible for one section or another of the working people to come over to the side of the proletariat. What matters is to define correctly what these conditions are. And the condition we are concerned with is expressed quite precisely in the words: 'go over to the point of view of the proletariat'. It is these words that mark off us Social-Democrats most definitely from all allegedly socialist trends in general and from the so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries in particular.

I turn to that disputed passage in my pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* which has given rise to so much comment here. It would seem that after all these comments the question has been so well clarified that very little is left for me to add. Obviously, an episode in the struggle against economism has here been confused with a principled presentation of a major theoretical question, namely, the formation of an ideology. Furthermore, this episode has been presented in an absolutely false way.

In support of this last statement I can refer, primarily, to Comrades Akimov and Martynov, who have spoken here. They made it clear that this was indeed an episode in the struggle against economism.

They expressed views which have already, and quite rightly, been described as opportunist. They went so far as to 'deny' the theory of impoverishment, to 'dispute' the dictatorship of the proletariat, and even to advocate the *Erfüllungstheorie*,<sup>5</sup> as Comrade Akimov called it. To tell the truth, I don't know what that means. It may be that Comrade Akimov meant to say *Aushöhlungstheorie*<sup>6</sup> — the 'theory of the emptying out' of capitalism, that is, one of the most popular current notions of the Bernsteinian theory. In his defence of the old basis of economism, Comrade Akimov put forward the incredibly bizarre argument that the word 'proletariat' does not figure even once in our programme in the nominative case. At most, exclaimed Comrade Akimov, they let the proletariat appear in the genitive case.<sup>7</sup> And so it appears that the nominative is the most honourable case, while the genitive takes second place in the scale of honour. It only remains to convey this idea — through a special commission, perhaps — to Comrade Ryazanov, so that he may supplement his first learned work on the letters of the alphabet with a second, a treatise on the cases . . .

As to the direct references that were made to my pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* it is not difficult for me to show that they were wrenched out of their contexts. It was said that Lenin does not mention conflicting trends, but categorically affirms that the working-class movement always 'tends' to succumb to bourgeois ideology. Really? Didn't I say that the working-class movement is drawn towards the bourgeois outlook *with the benevolent assistance of the Schulze-Delitsches and their like?* And what is meant here by 'their like'? None other than the economists, none other than those who used to say, for example, that bourgeois democracy in Russia is a phantom. Today it is easy to talk so cheaply about bourgeois radicalism and liberalism, when examples of them are apparent to everyone. But was that the case previously?

Lenin, it is said, takes no account whatever of the fact that workers, too, participate in the formation of ideology. Really? Have I not said, time and again, that the shortage of fully conscious workers, worker-leaders and worker-revolutionaries, is precisely the greatest shortcoming in our movement? Did I not say, there, that the training of such worker-revolutionaries must be our immediate task? Is there no mention there of the importance of developing the trade-union movement and creating special trade-union publications? Is not a desperate struggle waged there against any attempt to lower the level to that of the masses, or of the average workers?

To conclude. We all know now that the economists bent the stick in

one direction. In order to straighten the stick it was necessary to bend it in the other direction, and that is what I did. I am convinced that the Russian Social-Democratic movement will always vigorously straighten out a stick that has been bent by opportunism of any kind, and that our stick will always, therefore, be the straightest and fittest for action.

*Trotsky:* The most principled ideas regarding the draft programme presented by *Iskra* and *Zarya* have been expressed here by Comrades Martynov and Akimov. But where the former is concerned it has already been said that the general scope of his address was quite incommensurate with his final conclusions. In the words of Shchedrin, he promised us much bloodshed, but, instead, he ate a siskin.<sup>8</sup> Comrade Akimov's scope was also very wide, but unfortunately it was not at all connected with the draft programme. On one point only did Comrade Akimov, in a quite clear and principled way, come out in opposition to the draft under discussion. That was on the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. What is wrong with the draft, according to him, is that it improperly shifts the centre of gravity from the day-to-day struggle to the revolutionary dictatorship, from the class to the party . . . What does this mean? The draft under discussion includes a minimum programme, which is no smaller, in terms of the number of reforms demanded, than the minimum programme of other Social-Democratic parties. But revolutionary Social-Democrats, in fighting for reforms, are carrying out their *fundamental* reform — a reform of the minds of the proletariat, preparing them for the revolutionary dictatorship. We cannot stress vigorously enough the element of the proletarian dictatorship, for the reforms themselves are not a free political creation by the proletariat, but concessions made to the proletariat by the ruling classes, and made only under the threat of social revolution. Comrade Akimov tried to line up the draft under discussion with the programmatic position of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. This charge can return upon him a hundredfold. It is the *Socialist-Revolutionaries* who 'shift the centre of gravity' from the social revolution, which they describe as a 'fantastic leap', to the day-to-day struggle, which they conceive as a 'planned ascent' into the realm of socialism. I could furnish Comrade Akimov with some appropriate quotations, for his information. He fears the dictatorship of the proletariat as a Jacobin action. He forgets that this dictatorship will become possible only when the Social-Democratic Party and the

working class — the counterposing of which one to the other worries him so much — have come closer than now to identification one with the other. The dictatorship of the proletariat will not be a conspiratorial 'seizure of power' but the political rule of the organised working class, constituting the majority of the nation. By denying this dictatorship Comrade Akimov falls into ordinary social-reformism.

*Plekhanov:* Comrade Lieber asked whether it is possible for any social stratum to come over as a whole to the side of the proletariat. This was put forward as an objection to what appears in our programme. But the programme does not deal with that question. It speaks conditionally: we, the Party of the proletariat, invite into our ranks all other strata of the working population *in so far as* they come over to our standpoint. Comrade Lieber thinks that we are expressing ourselves here with insufficient precision. But the Communist Manifesto says the same thing: all other strata become revolutionary only in so far as they come over to the standpoint of the proletariat.<sup>9</sup> Comrade Lieber wanted to be more orthodox than Marx himself. This happens to individuals, but the Party as a whole has not the slightest need of it. We expressed ourselves precisely enough to mark off our views from those of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, for instance. The latter want to enlist the peasants on their side without bringing them over to the standpoint of the proletariat. We, however, say that the peasantry cannot march with us unless they abandon their peasant standpoint. This constitutes the principal line of demarcation between us and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

As regards Comrade Akimov, this is what I notice. He says that our whole draft is permeated with the spirit of that phrase of Lenin's which has been quoted so often. But this can be said only by someone who has understood neither Lenin's phrase nor our draft. Actually, what is the idea that underlies our programme? Underlying it is the fundamental idea of Marx's historical theory, the idea that the development of the productive forces determines the development of production-relations, which in their turn determine the entire development of society. What has Lenin's phrase to do with that? Altogether, Comrade Akimov's speech amazed me. Napoleon had a passion for making his Marshals divorce their wives: some gave in to him on this matter, even though they loved their wives. Comrade Akimov is like Napoleon in this respect — he wants, at any cost, to divorce me from Lenin. But I shall show more character than those



Marshals of Napoleon's. I shall not divorce Lenin and I hope he does not intend to divorce me. [*Comrade Lenin laughingly shakes his head.*] Let us now finally turn to Comrade Martynov. He says: socialism is worked out by the *whole* proletariat, including its conscious section, that is, he explains, all those who have come over to its side. If Comrade Martynov wants to say that, I see no reason to divorce him, any more than to divorce Lenin. By this formula the proletariat is made to include also the well-known bacillus — and then there is nothing to argue about. It only remains to ask Comrade Akimov to explain to us, at last, what case we should use when speaking of the proletariat in general, and of the bacillus in particular.

*The session was closed.*

## Tenth Session

*(Present: 43\* delegates with 51 deciding votes  
and eight with consultative voice.)*

*Lenin and Trotsky proposed that the entire programme, and not merely its general section, be handed over to the commission. Comrade Brouckère proposed that, before doing this, the congress hold a general debate on the remaining part of the programme. The proposal that the programme be handed over to the commission was adopted by 24 votes.*

*Deutsch* announced the arrival of the Polish comrades.

*Chairman Plekhanov:* Comrades! Two delegates from the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania have come to our congress. I welcome warmly their presence here, and call on one of them, Comrade *Warszawski*, to speak.

*Warszawski:* Comrades! You invited us to your congress, and we bring you fraternal greetings from the Polish comrades, with wishes for successful and fruitful work for our common cause. As our party congress, which concluded only recently, did not have any official notification of your congress and did not receive an invitation to send delegates to it, we could not, of course, take definite decisions regarding the tasks of the present congress, but could only formulate in general terms the attitude of the Polish Social-Democrats to the future united All-Russia Social-Democratic Party.<sup>1</sup>

In this spirit our congress appointed my comrade and me as representatives of our organisation to undertake discussions either at an

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\* Starting with this session, a third delegate from the Bund was present, so that the Bund had three delegates with three mandates, in addition to the two representatives from its Foreign Committee.

all-Russia congress or in other circumstances. Your invitation thus came very opportunely.

I will now read you the decision which was adopted, as I mentioned, by our congress. It must be noted that this decision is no product of the immediate moment. On the contrary, it is a conclusion derived from the position of principle which the Polish Social-Democrats have held since the very beginning of their movement.

Already at our first party congress, which took place in Warsaw in March 1894, we adopted a resolution on the question of our relation to the Russian workers' movement which recognised the need for common, united class struggle by the Polish and Russian proletariats. At the time when we adopted this decision there was not yet any mass workers' movement in Russia, and Russian Social-Democracy existed only in embryo. Our political opponents, the Polish nationalists called us, in those days, utopians and fantasists, saying that a proletarian revolutionary movement in Russia was an impossible dream. For years we had to fight for the idea of a union of the entire working class of Russia, without distinction of nationality, reckoning in advance with the results of the social process of development in Russia on which we firmly counted, as 'orthodox' Marxists.

I think I ought to mention here that our attitude to the Russian Social-Democratic movement results not only from the mechanical view by which struggle against the common enemy, the autocracy, requires unity of all revolutionary forces in Russia, but also from our view of the whole process of social development, which is welding capitalist Poland and capitalist Russia ever more closely in a single economic organism, thereby laying the historical basis for the merging of the Polish and Russian proletariats in common class struggle under the flag of a single, united Social-Democratic movement.

Our attitude to the Russian labour movement is thus the reverse side of our attitude to Polish nationalism, which strives, on the contrary, to *isolate* the Polish proletariat from the Russian and organise it on a basis of utopian national aspirations. In this sense we ascribe great importance to unity with the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, seeing in it the realisation of our fundamental views, which we have been defending for ten years, and therefore what is of primary significance to us is the mere fact of unity. The forms to be assumed by this unity, however important they may be from the practical standpoint, are consequently seen by us as secondary.

It was in that spirit that our congress passed the following resolution:-

In conformity with the resolutions of the first congress, in 1894, and of the third congress, in 1901, of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, which expressed the need for common, united political struggle shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat of the entire Russian state against Tsardom, the fourth congress of the SDKLP resolves that a single common Social-Democratic organisation for the whole Russian state is desirable. This main task of the present moment is of fundamental importance, so that the form of organisation is a secondary matter, the settlement of which will depend on the position and needs of the movement not only in Poland and Lithuania but also throughout Russia, and can therefore be realised only through agreement with the Social Democrats of the entire state. Consequently, the fourth congress leaves open the question of forms of organisation.

In the interests of the Social-Democratic movement in Poland it is desirable that there shall be:

1. Complete independence for the Polish Social-Democrats in all internal matters relating to agitation and organisation in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, with their own congresses, committees and publications.

2. Adoption by the common Social-Democratic Party of the official title: 'Social-Democratic Labour Party of Russia', *with the Polish Social-Democratic movement retaining, as a sub-title, its present name: 'Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania'*.

3. Other Polish socialist organisations to be allowed to enter the all-Russia Party only by joining the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

4. A member of the Polish organisation to be a member of the editorial board of the Central Organ, there to give guidance, along with the other members of the board, on matters concerning Polish party and public affairs.

5. Replacement of paragraph 7 of the programme of the Russian Party by a precise formula incapable of interpretation in a nationalist spirit.

6. Autonomy to be demanded for the Polish and Lithuanian provinces.

7. Adoption of a resolution expressing the attitude of the Russian

Social-Democrats towards Polish social-patriotism, in the spirit of the SDKPL.

The resolution I have read gives the main points of what our congress desired, and we hope, comrades, that you will recognise the rightness and expediency of these points. Some of them, however, were emphasised by our congress as forming the indispensable conditions for our joining a common Social-Democratic Party.

These points are No 1, the underlined part of No 2, and No 3.

Comrades! You invited us to attend with the right of a consultative voice until we announced the decisions adopted by our congress with regard to your Party, which achieved unity already at your first congress. We consider this decision fully understandable, but we think it appropriate to state, for our part, that we cannot regard the decisions of this congress as binding upon us until we know your answer on the three basic points which I have mentioned as conditions for our union.

In conclusion I will add that given the present position of our movement in Poland, we ascribe special importance to unity with the Social-Democratic Party of Russia on the grounds of its *moral* significance. Even if our practical joint work were, in the immediate future, to be confined, whether we like it or not, to isolated instances, nevertheless the mere fact of political unity between the Polish and Russian proletariats is historic, and at the same time a fitting answer to a whole century of oppression of the Polish people by official, autocratic Russia.

Hitherto, only the tricolour flag of Russian absolutism has waved over Poland, as the symbol of enslavement. From the moment of our unification there will wave over Poland the red flag of all-Russia Social-Democracy, as the pledge of coming liberation. In the hope that the present congress will bring about this event, which we have long awaited, we again express to you our wishes for success, our wishes that this congress may prove to be the harbinger of death for our common immediate foe, the autocracy.

*Chairman* (Plekhanov): The draft agreement which our comrades from the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania have put before us must be regarded as the first step in the rapprochement between us. Its foundations will be examined when we come to discuss the draft rules of the Party. We should then give our Polish comrades a precise

answer to their proposals. For the present we ask them to remain at our congress with a consultative voice. I propose to the congress that a commission be elected to study the agreement proposed by the Polish comrades.

*Hofman* said that the chairman had no right to decide on his own the question of a commission.

*The Chairman* said that this was merely a proposal, not a decision.

*Lieber* said that the question could not be referred to a commission without preliminary discussion, because it was of fundamental importance.

*Yegorov* asked what the commission was to do.

*Chairman:* The commission is to study the question of the agreement.

*Lenin* repudiated the charge that the chairman had proceeded irregularly. Nobody, so far as he had heard, had proposed that a decision taken by the congress be replaced by a decision taken by the commission. Nobody was trying to conceal anything. A commission would be elected in order to hear what the Polish comrades had to say, discuss the agreement these comrades proposed, and then submit for approval by the congress the opinion they had formed on this matter.

*Goldblatt:* The congress should discuss this question in a general way, so that this general discussion can provide the commission with the necessary material. I urge that we have an open general discussion. Then everything will be done in the full light of day.

*Chairman:* I don't know what Comrade Goldblatt means when he says 'in the full light of day'. At all international congresses work in commissions takes place before debates.

*Both proposals were put to the vote, and by a majority of 32 to 6 the proposal of the presidium was adopted. Comrade Lieber's proposal was rejected.*

*A proposal to elect a commission of five was adopted, by 37 to 6.*

*Chairman:* I now open the discussion on item 4 of the agenda: the Party's Central Organ.

*Gorin*: I propose that *Iskra* be recognised as the central organ, because *Iskra* has fulfilled and is fulfilling in practice the role of the guiding organ of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

*Akimov* proposed that it be explained what this item meant: was it a matter of pre-determining the existence of a single organ, or was the question of local organs also to be decided?

*Lenin* explained that the item related to the question of either confirming the old organ or establishing a new one.

*Akimov (on a point of order)*: It follows from *Lenin's* explanation that we cannot discuss this question today. We cannot discuss the question of the Party organ until we have finished discussing the programme.

*Yegorov*: I will begin by replying to Comrade *Akimov*. Of course the organ must be considered along with our programme. This is not the question before us at the moment. The third item on our agenda is very important. It must decide the question of how we are to ensure unity and adherence to principle in the activity of our Party, how we are to make sure that the point of view which proves victorious here is really put into effect, without wavering or vacillation. This, in my opinion, was what the OC had in mind when it made the question of the Party organ the third item on our agenda. We have now to express our attitude to *Rabocheye Dyelo* and to *Iskra*, not so much in the sense of the standpoint of principle of the one organ or the other as in the sense of stating what the situation is. Throughout the entire period that it has existed *Iskra* has unwaveringly and firmly put forward its principled point of view, without fearing to arouse discontent among a wide circle of readers, without fearing to anger its friends. That cannot, of course, be said of the other organ. This staunchness of *Iskra* is dear to us. It is not enough for us to draw up a programme, we have to put it into effect. We must remember the conditions under which we are obliged to work. Unco-ordinated, disunited, lacking the possibility of communicating freely, each one of us is left to himself. We must have an ideological nucleus that can firmly direct our scattered activities, imparting unity to them and standing on guard for strict adherence to principle.

*Akimov* proposed that no discussion take place on the substance of the matter. He agreed with Comrade *Yegorov*, but considered that an organ ought not to be approved merely because it was steadfast.

*Kostich:* Comrade Akimov is mistaken. The feeling of the majority is not unknown to him. Why drag the matter out for the sake of formal considerations? Everyone is agreed, more or less, on everything. This question is clear. I am in favour of this question being discussed now.

*Brouckère:* I do not understand why Comrade Lenin did not understand Comrade Akimov. Of course we cannot approve the organ until we have adopted the programme. I propose that discussion of the organ be held over until we have adopted the programme.

*Akimov* moved a resolution, saying: I consider that the congress would go against its own decision, as just explained by Comrade Lenin, if it were to discuss the question of the organ before it has discussed the Party programme, and I propose that the congress adjourn and give the commission time to do its work.

*The congress rejected Akimov's resolution.*

*Kostich:* I agree with Comrade Yegorov. Recognising *Iskra* as the guiding organ means bearing witness that *Iskra* is just what we need as a Party organ. True, *Iskra* has not, up to now, been able to respond to all the requirements of its readers. But everything that hindered it from doing this has now disappeared. I support Comrade Yegorov's proposal and call for *Iskra* to be recognised as the central organ.

*Koltsov:* Comrade Yegorov says that *Iskra* has been staunch in its views. But that does not go far enough. It needs to be said that *Iskra* has been staunch in implementing *certain* principles, namely, those of revolutionary Social-Democracy. It is for that reason that I propose recognition of *Iskra* as the central organ.

*Muravyov:* Supplementing what Comrade Kostich has said, I want to stress that *Iskra* has been accepted as the guiding organ not only by the delegates at this congress but also by the majority of committees in Russia, and so by all the comrades who make up these committees. This acceptance of *Iskra* by the committees could not be and was not compatible with lack of familiarity with, or even complete ignorance of, *Iskra's* programme, because this acceptance concerned the body of ideas of Russian Social-Democracy, on matters of principle, tactics and general organisation, which were expressed by *Iskra*; and the aggregate of these ideas must logically, in their turn, condition the general Party programme of *Iskra*.



*Lieber*: I consider that the question of the central organ cannot be reduced to that of the principle which this organ should uphold. There is also the question of the form of the central organ. *Rabochaya Gazeta* is regarded as the central organ. Until *Rabochaya Gazeta* has been abolished we cannot nominate a new organ. I think that, despite the defects which I find in *Iskra*, it ought to be recognised as the central organ. Whether it is enough for us to have only one organ is another matter. Has *Iskra* met all the requirements of its readers? I say no. For the RSDLP it is not enough to have only one Central Organ. The Party needs the guidance that a single Central Organ can give. But is it really supposed that there is no need for a workers' paper? I am surprised that the comrades who have spoken before me have not mentioned this need. A newspaper must not only give leadership, it must also take up a number of questions which concern the workers. That the working-class masses need a leading organ I have no doubt. We must create an organ that will be understood by the broad masses. Local organs cannot take the place of the central organ for the mass of the workers. I propose that we consider the question whether the comrades agree that we need a second organ — a workers' paper for popularising ideas among the mass of the workers.

*Akimov*: I know that *Iskra* will be recognised as the Party organ. But I declare myself against this. I want it to be made clear in the minutes of the congress that the question of the organ was pre-determined. I have been told that the committees' recognition of *Iskra* as the guiding organ has already pre-determined the question of recognising *Iskra* as the Party organ. Does this mean that the central organ will bear the name '*Iskra*'? Or that its editorial board will continue? Or that its principles will be adopted? It seems to me that we must first of all ask the *Iskra* group whether it agrees to surrender its signboard to the congress. Does it agree to submit to the instructions of the congress? I think this is a pertinent question, taking into account the staunch convictions of *Iskra*. I am told that we shall discuss the election of the editorial board of the Central Organ at the end. But I think this question ought to be taken up now.

*Yegorov*: What Koltsov said is self-evident. One can't be principled unless one has principles. If, nevertheless, I emphasised *Iskra's* merits not as regards the views it promotes but as regards its ability to promote them I did this because at the moment, when we are

discussing item 3 of the agenda, it is just this that we need to pay attention to. We have to show how a Party organ ought to be conducted. I turn now to Comrade Akimov's objections. I think we ought not to play hide and seek. We want to express in our resolution today our attitude to the serious work that *Iskra* has accomplished.

Comrades! Consider the state of affairs in our Party during the last two years. General chaos, uncertainty and vacillation were the typical features of this period. If we nevertheless remained a united Party, if we are meeting here today as members of a like-minded collective, we owe all this to a group of persons who on their own initiative created an organ which, amid all the prevailing confusion, held high the banner of revolutionary Social-Democracy, yielding to none of the fashionable trends of the time. An organ which was able to maintain its positions in such a troubled period will, of course, be able to safeguard them also under more favourable conditions. I therefore propose that *Iskra* be recognised as the Party's central organ. In calling upon comrades to declare for recognising *Iskra* as the Party organ I consider that by this decision we shall safeguard ourselves against any future surprises. [Applause.]

*Lyadov*: I fully concur with Comrade Yegorov's view. We need a leading organ, and *Iskra* alone is such an organ. The question of a popular organ should, I think, be taken up under the item on Party publications.

*Popov*: I want to add a few words to what was said by Comrade Yegorov, my co-delegate. He described the significance of *Iskra* and pointed to its role in the future. I wish to recall its history. I remember the announcement of the publication of *Iskra* in which the editors, referring to the mental vacillation that was going on, declared that the first step towards the creation of a Party must be the creation of a Party organ. I recall the article 'Where To Begin' in No 3 or No 4 of *Iskra*. Many of the comrades active in Russia found it a tactless article; others thought this plan was fantastic, and the majority attributed it solely to ambition. Then I remember the bitterness shown towards *Iskra* by the majority of the Committees: I remember a whole series of splits. Fairness requires me to say that in all these splits, even though each one did grave harm to the organisation — in all these splits there was always a good side: they infused a fresh spirit into the work of the committees. I recall, finally, how since last year, starting from May 1, the committees began, one after another, to voice their ideological

solidarity with *Iskra*. I recall, finally, the work of the OC, working under the direction of *Iskra*.

The liquidation of the period of amateurism went ahead, and now we see here at this congress a united Party which has to a significant extent been created by the activity of *Iskra*. *Iskra* created the Party, and I think the Party should recognise *Iskra* as its organ.

*Muravyov*: When I referred to the fact that *Iskra* has been recognised as the leading organ by the majority of the committees in Russia I did not in the least intend to associate this circumstance with the 'imperative' or 'non-imperative' character of delegates' mandates, as Comrade Akimov supposes. I merely mentioned it as one argument in favour of recognition by the congress of *Iskra* as the Party's leading organ. Delegates of committees are, of course, absolutely free to express their views; but, all the same, I must say to Comrade Akimov that if, for example, the Congress delegates were to recognise *Rabocheye Dyelo* as their leading organ, then they would undoubtedly repent bitterly having taken such a rash decision as soon as they got back home to their committees . . . Comrade Akimov takes the question of the future editorial board of the Central Organ very much to heart, and his sympathetic attitude to the *Iskra* organisation, which is faced with the misfortune of being deprived of such a truly dear possession as the *Iskra* newspaper, did, I confess, give me a pleasant surprise. But even so, I must confess to Comrade Akimov that in my heart of hearts, I do not doubt the complete readiness of the *Iskra* group to sacrifice, if need be, their right of private *ownership* for the good of the *common* cause.

*Gorin*: Comrade Lieber said something like this: it is not enough to acknowledge the principled character of an organ, one has also to pay attention to the forms in which its principles are put into effect. He is paying attention, evidently, to the matter of economising revolutionary labour-time. It is difficult for workers to understand *Iskra*. But in order that *Iskra* may be equal to its own principles, in order that it may propagate the principles of scientific socialism, it cannot be popular in character. So as to overcome stylistic difficulties, leaders can take an article from *Iskra* and read it with workers. As for the polemical methods for which *Iskra* is blamed, this is not the place to talk about that matter, since we are not gathered here to judge of proprieties. I will mention that *Iskra* still has before it the big task of undertaking the publication of popular pamphlets.

*Pavlovich:* I did not understand Akimov at all when he put his questions. When we have chosen the Party organ from among the existing organs we shall possess the concrete material on which to perform the operations Comrade Akimov is so much concerned about.

As for Comrade Akimov's wondering whether the *Iskra* organisation will submit to the decisions of the congress, let me remind him that it is not for nothing that the letters 'RSDLP' appear at the masthead of *Iskra*. Everything that bears that heading belongs to the Party, and must submit to the Party's decisions. Here we are merely deciding what part of this ideological property we want to see as the ideological mouthpiece of the Party's views, just as the Party can cause another part of its property to cease to exist. How any perplexity can arise in this matter is for Comrade Akimov to explain.

*Trotsky:* Comrade Akimov asks: what are we endorsing in *Iskra*, if we are not endorsing the editorial board — the name?

Although I am present here, comrades, as delegate of the Siberian Association, I also have the honour to belong to the *Iskra* organisation. Members of that organisation, and its ideological supporters generally, have been and are called 'Iskrists'. This is not just a *name*, it is a *trend*. A trend which has rallied certain persons around it, a trend which has compelled everyone to take up a definite attitude towards it. And this was all the more important because *Iskra* appeared at a time of ideological confusion in our own ranks.

Let us recall how quickly Marxism conquered the minds of the intelligentsia at the beginning of the 1890s. For the majority of these intellectuals Marxism was the instrument for emancipating our democratic movement from the outworn ideology of Narodism. It brought with it the right to 'go to school under capitalism' with a good conscience. But Marxism soon introduced its truly revolutionary content into the labour movement. The more that movement developed, the more urgent it became for democratic circles to define their attitude towards it. But the democratic movement itself succeeded in growing and becoming stronger, and acquired a taste for sounding its own independent political notes. The ideology of the proletariat was not convenient from its point of view. A critical campaign against Marxism began. The official purpose of this campaign was to free Marxism from un-critical, 'dogmatic' survivals. The real task of the campaign was to free the democratic movement from

the burden of Marxist ideology. 'Criticism' served to 'undermine' all the foundations of Marxism. Not a trace remained of the former fascination of Marxism. The disruptive influence of this 'criticism' was felt in our ranks, too, in the ranks of the Social-Democrats. A period of doubt, vacillation and disorder set in. We yielded up one position after another to the bourgeois democrats.

It was at this critical moment that the group around *Iskra* and *Zarya* appeared, taking upon itself the responsibility of rallying the Party under the banner of revolutionary socialism. At the beginning of its work this group was 'in the minority'. Now the situation has changed radically. And if *Iskra* was our guiding organ during that time of confusion in the Party, then by recognising it now as our central organ we are merely giving formal expression to its victory, to the victory of our trend. It is not the *name* we are endorsing, Comrade Akimov, but the banner, the banner around which, in practice, our Party has rallied! [Applause.]

*Martynov*: The question of the organ, as has been said here, is the question of our banner, of our trend. Therefore, like many other comrades, I consider that while discussing the adoption of *Iskra*, as a newspaper of a definite trend, as our central organ, we should not at this juncture discuss the method of electing or endorsing its editorial board: we shall discuss that later, in its proper place on the agenda. I shall therefore speak only about the *Iskra* trend.

Much has been said here about the services rendered by *Iskra* to our movement. It has been said that *Iskra* was the transmitter among us of the idea of revolutionary Social-Democracy. Reference has been made to its staunchness, to its principled consistency, to the boldness and passion with which it promoted its views. I fully admit all these services rendered by *Iskra*. But when we mention an organ's merits we ought also to mention its defects. It seems to me that the key to the explanation of *Iskra's* principal defects was given us yesterday by one of its editors, Comrade Lenin.

Speaking about the episode of *Iskra's* fight against economism, Comrade Lenin made a confession to us. 'The stick had been bent in one direction, and so we bent it the other way.' By these words Comrade Lenin did not mean the excessive passion or ruthlessness shown in the fight against economism. Nobody, including myself, would blame *Iskra* for that. The degree of passion shown in a fight testifies only to the degree of conviction in the fighter. In accordance

with the whole sense of the discussion, Comrade Lenin had in mind something different, namely, that in combating a false theory and false tactical principles, *Iskra* 'bent the stick' in precisely those matters, in matters of theory and tactical principle. That sort of method in politics is, I believe, a harmful one, and as I have already said, the character of our movement at the time immediately following the period of economism clearly revealed the danger of this system of stick-bending. I shall not go into detail here on that question. I shall add only this. When the vote is taken on the recognition of *Iskra* as the central organ, I shall vote for *Iskra*, and I ask the congress to interpret this vote as endorsing the *Iskra* trend with the reservation mentioned.

*Brouckère*: I agree with Comrade Yegorov that members of the editorial board of the Party Organ should not belong to any committee, since otherwise, being absorbed in local needs, they will involuntarily reflect these. But, unlike Comrade Yegorov, I think that *Iskra* certainly ought not to be recognised as our central organ. Comrade Yegorov said just now that *Iskra* was afraid neither of foes nor of friends. The fact that it is not afraid of foes is not peculiar to *Iskra*. Who that is concerned with illegal publications worries about the opinion of the Government or the liberal trends? You don't fear your adversary and you don't consider him. But the fact that *Iskra* has not shown consideration for friends, either, deserves to be made a reproach against it. *Iskra* was the representative of one of the Social-Democratic trends, and sought to destroy all those Social-Democratic organisations whose aims did not chime with its own. It felt no shame in its choice of methods of struggle for this purpose: seeking to discredit these organisations, it proceeded against them with completely unjust and untrue accusations, thereby committing against the Social-Democratic trends which disagreed with it a whole series of crimes [*shouts*: 'Oho!'] — crimes from your point of view as well, yours, the majority's. Two days ago Comrade Orlov charged the Voronezh Committee with persuading others of what it believed itself, and the majority joined him in making this charge. How much more guilty, even from your point of view, must be the crimes of *Iskra*, which, in order to fight against the trends that disagreed with it, did not hesitate to throw dirt on them, and in the scope of its polemic and the quality of its methods went beyond all the bounds set by scruples. I observe that in the charges against the Voronezh Committee there was no mention of those methods, borrowed from *Iskra*, to

which it resorted in its first leaflet against the OC. These methods were not approved, even by their supporters, who blamed them for starting, as they put it, 'to behave like *Iskra*'.

By recognising this organ as the Party organ we thereby acknowledge, first, that the *whole* Party is in solidarity with *Iskra* on all matters, and, secondly, that the Party assumes responsibility for the entire past of this organ. Can we say that we are all in solidarity with the *Iskra* tendency, or can we say, with conviction, that the majority of those Social-Democrats who have worked in Russia — who have *worked*, I say — are in solidarity with it? No, not in the least. The fact that the majority of the committees have declared themselves supporters of *Iskra* does not argue against this: in most cities there is another trend apart from the committees, and we do not yet know which of them is the real Social-Democratic movement, which of them constitutes the majority. Only one trend is represented here, the *Iskra* trend, and choosing *Iskra* as the Party organ will forcibly subject the other trend to this one's views. Secondly, can we take upon ourselves responsibility for the past of *Iskra* as a newspaper, for all the mistakes and errors of tact committed by the group of private individuals who have been directing it? I mean tactlessness not only in relation to the Social-Democrats of the other trend but also in relation to the Socialist-Revolutionaries. [*Ironical applause.*] Yes, the methods to which *Iskra* resorted made one blush for it. Comrade Popov said just now that most of the comrades who have read a few articles in *Iskra* have agreed that it is tactless. [*Shouts: 'They have already repented!'*] I don't know whether these comrades have repented or whether they have simply lost their notion of what constitutes tact, but I have recently heard comrades express indignation with *Iskra's* methods and say that since *Iskra's* sallies against the Socialist-Revolutionaries they have been ashamed to meet them. [*Applause.*] If you, who are in solidarity with *Iskra* on all points and who even approve of its methods, are capable of assuming responsibility for its past, you have no right to load this responsibility on to the shoulders of those who have been its constant opponents. I therefore move that Comrade Gorin's proposal to recognise *Iskra* as the Party organ be rejected and that we either create a new organ or else re-establish the former Party organ, *Rabochaya Gazeta*.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to warn comrades that recognition of *Iskra* as the Party organ will constitute one of the biggest

obstacles to the uniting of all Social-Democratic trends in one party. [Exclamations: 'Oho!' 'Well, now!']

*Lieber*: I have given views about the past services attributed to *Iskra*, and about the group which has directed it. But I find that even on this sun there were spots. *Iskra* was unable to distinguish its foes from its friends. The polemic that *Iskra* waged against its friends, the Bund, was harmful. By this polemic *Iskra* brought bitterness into its relations with the Bund. It did not always behave tactfully in relation to the Bund. Now, while wishing to see *Iskra* as the central organ, I think that when it has acquired that status it will learn to distinguish its friends from its foes.

*Akimov*: I was not satisfied with Comrade Yegorov's reply. He mentioned the important role played by *Iskra* as a principled organ. But that is not convincing. Such an organ was bound to appear and did appear. It has been asked, how tactful and skilful was *Iskra* in advancing these principles? If this organ had been more tactful it would have advanced these principles much more rapidly and durably. It has been mentioned here that the majority are on *Iskra's* side. But it must not be forgotten that there is a large minority who are not on *Iskra's* side.

*Orlov*: I did not blame the Voronezh Committee for its fight against the *Iskra* trend, but for the method by which this fight was carried on. Its underhand procedure, by way of 'friendly letters', and its tactless statements seemed to me blameworthy, and showed up the solidity and the moral physiognomy of the Voronezh Committee.

*Popov*: I want to reply briefly to the comrade who spoke about spots on the sun. *Iskra* has been accused of tactlessness, and Comrade Brouckère referred to evidence from me on this point. But he did not quote this evidence correctly. I said that *Iskra* aroused indignation only in those who stubbornly persisted in their errors. You speak of tactlessness. Comrade Lieber says that *Iskra* did not distinguish between its own people and others. No, it distinguished only between principles. That was tactless . . . But here, it seems to me, we ought to speak not about tactfulness but about political tact. I will not single out particular articles from *Iskra* or from the Bund's *Posledniye Izvestiya*. I will merely mention that *Iskra* undoubtedly possessed political tact. That very tact required that it came out in the sharpest kind of polemic, and it is thanks to *Iskra's* tactics that we now see such unity in the Party. And this is what I have to say about Comrades Akimov and



Brouckère. They have striven persistently to ensure that their objections to *Iskra* get into the minutes. Let the readers see that they fought for their position to the last drop of blood. This reminds me of a scene in *The Inspector-General*. Bobchinsky asks that he be written about in the newspapers: let everyone know, he says, that Pyotr Ivanovich Bobchinsky exists. [Applause.]<sup>2</sup>

*The list of speakers was exhausted.*

*Rusov:* While the first congress endorsed *Rabochaya Gazeta*, the second will abolish it.

*Chairman:* Clearly, by naming a central organ the congress automatically abolishes the previously existing one.

*Lieber:* The Comrade Chairman's explanation is correct. But we could recognise both *Iskra* and *Rabochaya Gazeta* as central organs.

*Koltsov:* There can only be one central organ. There can be other organs common to the whole Party, but only one central organ.

*Lenin:* I propose that we issue a death certificate to *Rabochaya Gazeta*, then Comrade Lieber will be satisfied.

*Lieber:* It is not true that there can only be one central organ.

*Plekhanov:* The concept of two centres contradicts the laws of geometry.<sup>3</sup>

*Martynov:* I think that Comrade Lieber is proposing a second organ. There can be a single central organ, but also other organs common to the whole Party. I ask that this be mentioned in the resolution.

*Muravyov:* It seems to me that this is not a matter to be dealt with today. We shall talk about this when we discuss the question of publications readable by everyone.

*Chairman:* The congress has noted that *Rabochaya Gazeta* has ceased to exist.

*Martov:* In view of the fact that *Rabochaya Gazeta* has ceased to exist, I propose that the congress recognise this fact. [He then moved his resolution.]\*

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\* Resolution by Martov and Stein: 'The congress rescinds the decision of the First Congress recognising *Rabochaya Gazeta* as the Party's central organ.'

*Comrades Akimov and Brouckère moved their resolution.†*

*The resolution by Comrades and Akimov and Brouckère was put to the vote, and received only two votes. The Martov-Stein resolution was voted on and adopted.*

*A resolution was moved which was signed by the members of the Yuzhny Rabochy group (Comrades Popov, Yegorov, Ivanov and Medvedev) and by Comrades Tsaryov, Lvov, Karsky, Rusov, Bekov and Stepanov.‡*

*Martynov:* I propose that the resolution be divided into two parts and each part voted on separately. My reason is that I can vote for the second part but I want to abstain from voting on the first.

*The Bureau agreed to Comrade Martynov's proposal and put to the vote first of all the second part of the resolution of the members of the Yuzhny Rabochy group. It received 44 votes, with two against, the editors of Iskra abstaining. When the first part of the resolution was voted on it received 35 votes, with two against and 11 abstentions (including the editors of Iskra). That resolution as a whole was then put to the vote, and received 38 votes, with two against and nine abstentions (including the editors of Iskra.) [Applause.]*

*Comrade Lieber* submitted the following statement, signed by Comrades Lieber, Abramson, Hofman, Yudin and Goldblatt: 'We abstained from voting owing to the motivation of this resolution, as we do not agree with certain points in this motivation in the way that these were interpreted by the comrades who moved the resolution.'

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† Resolution by Akimov and Brouckère: 'In the interests of removing all obstacles standing in the way of complete unification of all Social Democrats active in Russia, the congress rejects the proposal to recognise *Iskra* as the Party organ, since *Iskra* represents only one trend. The congress re-establishes *Rabochaya Gazeta*, which was recognised as the Party organ by the First Congress of the RSDLP.'

‡ Resolution by the members of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group and others: 'Considering (a) the services rendered by *Iskra* to ideological unification and to the development and defence of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy and struggle on the basis of these principles against all kinds of opportunist tendencies in our Party, and also against tendencies seeking to divert the working-class movement from the only true revolutionary path; (b) the role of *Iskra* in directing the practical work of the Party; and (c) the leading role played by *Iskra* in the work of unification — the second congress of the RSDLP declares that *Iskra* is its central organ.'

*With the adoption of the resolution of the members of the Yuzhny Rabochy group, Comrade Gorin's resolution became unnecessary.\**

*Chairman:* I propose that we proceed to next business, that is, to the delegates' reports (Item 5 on the Agenda).

*There was a discussion about whether the reports should be read in their entirety or only in abbreviated form. Two resolutions were moved on this question: one moved by Comrade Kostich,† which was passed by 27 votes to 14, and one moved by Comrade Makhov,§ which was rejected by 26 to 24.*

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\* Gorin's resolution: 'The congress recognises *Iskra* as the Party's central organ for the following reasons: first, *Iskra* satisfies all the demands that can be required of an organ as regards the theoretical and practical promotion of Social-Democratic principles; secondly, it has already been fulfilling in practice, up to now, the function of central organ.'

† 'The congress elects a special commission with the task of examining the reports and deciding which of them should be read to the congress. Brief oral reports to be given on the course of events in the remaining organisations.' (Comrade Kostich's resolution.)

§ Comrade Makhov's resolution: 'The congress asks the delegates to give the congress brief oral statements about the course of events in their organisations. The reports themselves to be handed over to the congress Bureau.'

## Eleventh Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 deciding votes and 10\* with consultative voice.)*

*The session opened with reading of the minutes of the 5th session.*

*Martov (on a point of order):* In view of the fact that the minutes take up so much of our time, I propose that we change the procedure for reading them. At the German Party congresses the minutes are not read out at sessions, but every speaker has the right to peruse them and make corrections, with the secretary's consent. I propose that we introduce the same procedure.

*A discussion took place on this question, in which it was pointed out, among other things, that the German Social-Democrats had their own daily press, in which congress reports were published, so that any necessary corrections could be made at once. Eventually the congress decided to retain the old procedure for reading and approving the minutes.*

*Chairman:* Who wishes to make any corrections to the minutes of the 5th session as read?

*Lieber* mentioned that in Comrade Lvov's speech the evidence he had given for the Bund's separatism had been omitted: namely, his reference to the Bund's holding a separate May Day demonstration from that of the PPS in Warsaw.

*Abramson* drew attention to the omission from the minutes of the statement by Comrade Lvov that 'relations with the Bund were good only so long as it stayed at home, and deteriorated when it began to extend its sphere of activity'.

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\* The two representatives of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania had now been added.

*Trotsky* explained that what Comrade Lvov meant was: 'The separatism of the Bund was not harmful to the Party so long as the Bund remained content with its own sphere of activity, but it became harmful when the Bund began to extend its area of influence.'

*Koltsov*: We cannot add to the speeches that have been made. We can only ask, in the course of a speech, that some particular statement by the speaker be included in the minutes.

*Abramson*: pointed out that one could not know beforehand what would be included in the minutes and what would not.

*Chairman*: In view of Comrade Lvov's absence I propose that we include the additions proposed by Lieber and Abramson, and Trotsky's explanation, in the minutes of today's session. The minutes as they have been read should not be altered, but taken as approved.

*This proposal was adopted by the congress.*

*The secretary of the Bureau presented the list of persons elected to the commission for working over the reports from committees, etc. Those elected were: Zasulich, Popov and Fomin.*

*The Chairman* asked the congress if it desired to postpone consideration of the fourth item in the agenda until the reports had come back from the commission, and proceed to the next item, or if the session should be adjourned.

*Lyadov* proposed that the report of the Moscow Committee be read: since it was ready and would be of interest to all present it could be read in full, without abridgement.

*Plekhanov* said that it was the commission's task to decide which reports should be read in full and which should be abridged.

*Lenin* proposed that there be an adjournment, after which the commission might give an account of its work.

*An adjournment was announced, after which the rapporteur of the commission which had been elected addressed the congress.*

*Popov*: At the request of the comrades from the Bund, and since their report is ready, and should be of interest to all present, the commission considers that it should be read in full, and proposes that the reading of reports begin with this one.

*The spokesman of the Bund gave his report.\**

*After the report of the Bund had been heard, Comrade Martov said that many delegates had questions to ask, arising from the report which had been read, which it would be interesting to get answers to at once. He therefore proposed that everyone who wished to put questions to the spokesman of the Bund should do so and that the latter deal with them there and then.*

*Martov's proposal was adopted.*

*Comrade Lieber was asked a large number of questions by numerous delegates. Why was a point included in the rules of the Bund giving the Central Committee the right to veto any congress delegate elected by a committee? Was the Socialist-Revolutionary organisation included among the organisations with which the Bund had relations? What were the sources of the Bund's funds? In which towns were there authorised committees of the Bund? What groups did the delegates to the Bund's Fifth Congress form in the voting at that congress? Were there different theoretical tendencies in the Bund? Did the so-called workshop organisations exist now? Had the Bund any dealings with the *Osvobozhdenie* Party? On what organisational principle were the local committees composed: were they elected? What was the number of votes cast for each resolution moved at the Fifth Congress? Were there members of trade unions among the 30,000 workers organised in the Bund, and if so, how many? Why had the number of local organs decreased, and what was to be the character of the organ set up by the Fifth Congress?*

*Gorin:* I should like to put one question to the comrades from the Bund. When I was in Byelostok the non-Jewish (Polish and German) workers of one of the textile mills in that town went on strike. The boss of the factory invited Jews, working on hand-loom, to take the places of these workers. Jewish workers who had been embittered by the way their own strikes had constantly been broken by non-Jewish workers were inclined to think that the offer should be accepted, and were held back only by the feeling that it was not good for Jews, whom everyone was against, to engage in strike-breaking. It must be appreciated that half of the workers in Byelostok are Jews, but they all work on hand-loom: they are not employed by the factory owners,

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\* The reports will be published separately.

because the non-Jewish workers do not allow it. Relations between Jewish and non-Jewish workers are strained. I should like to know what the Bund has done about this state of affairs in Byelostok, which is regarded as an important centre of the labour movement.\*

*Lange:* Has the Bund helped the *Osvobozhdenie* Party in the matter of transport?

*Abramson:* The *Osvobozhdenie* Party approached the Bund with this proposal, and offered very advantageous terms, but the Bund rejected the proposal. It took the same line with the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

*Muravyov* was not satisfied with Lieber's answer. He wanted to know the number of delegates from local committees and the number from the Central Committee. When was the veto introduced?

*Lieber:* The number of members of the Central Committee is not known to anyone, as it has the right to co-opt.

*The Chairman* pointed out that only twenty minutes were left, and a number of practical questions had to be settled.

*Martov* proposed that discussion of the Bund's report be terminated.

*Plekhanov* asked the comrades from the Bund for their view, derived from their practical experience, as to whether the principles of what was now referred to as 'democratism' were applicable in the case of local committees.

*Lieber:* We have found, from practical experience, that it is not possible to apply the democratic principles advocated by some of our comrades.

*After this, questions on the Bund report were terminated. The rapporteur of the credentials commission was called on to speak.*

*Koltsov:* As the members of the congress know, the commission has been invited to admit to our sessions a second delegate from the Mining and Metallurgical Association. The commission has ascertained that the position is as follows. The Mining and Metallurgical

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\* Lieber's answers to these questions were not included in the minutes.

Association had the right to send two delegates to the congress. These two delegates were duly elected, and two alternative delegates as well. But one of the delegates did not come to the congress, for certain purely personal reasons. Then the delegate who did come to the congress proposed to the Association that it recognise as its second delegate another person, who had been endorsed by the Association. It must be mentioned that this person was not one of those who had been duly elected by the Association as an alternative delegate. Furthermore it is obvious that the election was carried out in this case in conditions somewhat different from those governing the election of all other delegates to this congress. Again, I have to add that the commission has been unable to obtain any information about the local work of the proposed delegate. Consequently, the Commission proposes that the congress pass the following resolution.\*

*Lvov* expressed regret that the Mining and Metallurgical Association had not taken the trouble to furnish information regarding the new delegate, and proposed that the Association submit to the decision of the congress.<sup>1</sup>

*The resolution was passed by a majority.*

*The session was closed.*

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\* 'Although no unfavourable evidence was given to the commission regarding the delegate proposed by the Mining and Metallurgical Association, nevertheless, since (a) the period laid down by the Organising Committee for the nomination of delegates has expired long ago, and since (b) the commission has been able to obtain only very meagre information about the local work of this person — the second congress of the RSDLP finds it impossible to admit the proposed delegate to its sessions.' (Resolution by the commission.)



## Twelfth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 deciding votes and  
11 with consultative voice)\**

*The entire session was devoted to the reading of the reports of the delegates from the Baku and Saratov Committees, the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, the Russian organisation of Iskra, and the Yuzhny Rabochy group.*

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\* Comrade Kostrov, who had been invited, had now arrived.

## Thirteenth Session<sup>1</sup>

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
11 with consultative voice.)*

*The reports of the delegates from the Don, Yekaterinoslav, Tula, Tver (Northern Association) and Moscow committees were read. The minutes of the sixth session were read and approved.*

## Fourteenth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
10\* with consultative voice)*

*On behalf of the credentials commission Comrade Lenin proposed that two comrades be invited to attend with consultative voice.*

*The congress adopted this proposal unanimously.*

*The statement by the Polish comrades was read.†*

*It was decided to discuss this statement in conjunction with the report from the commission for negotiations with the Polish comrades, which was deferred to the 8th item of the agenda.*

*A proposal by Comrade Popov to proceed immediately to discuss the organisational rules was approved.*

*Lenin (the rapporteur) gave an explanation of the draft rules submitted by him. § The basic idea of the rules, he said, was that of a division of functions. Hence, for example, the division into two central bodies was not due to their geographical separation (one in Russia, the other abroad) but was a logical consequence of a division of functions. The function of the Central Committee was to provide practical leadership, that of the Central Organ to exercise ideological leadership. To co-ordinate the activities of these two centres, to preclude disparity between them, and, to some extent, to settle disputes, a Council was needed, which should not in the least be a mere arbitration board. The paragraphs in the rules dealing with relations between the Central*

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\* The comrades from the Polish Social-Democratic Party were not present. Comrade Glebov, who had been invited by the OC before the congress opened, was present.

† See Appendix IX.

§ See Appendix XI.

Committee and the local committees and defining the Central Committee's sphere of competence could not and should not enumerate all the points falling within that sphere. Such an enumeration was impossible and inappropriate, for it was inconceivable for all possible cases to be foreseen, and, moreover, points not enumerated might appear to be outside the competence of the Central Committee. The Central Committee must be allowed to determine for itself the sphere of its own competence, since any local matter might affect the interests of the Party as a whole, and the Central Committee should be in a position to intervene in local affairs, even, perhaps, going against local interests, if such action was in the interests of the Party as a whole.

*Popov:* In presenting his report, Comrade Lenin twice referred to the draft rules which I drew up. I am not presenting this draft to the congress because it was composed in too great a hurry, and also because I cannot see any need to compose a special draft of the rules as a whole. The changes I want to propose relate almost entirely to the central point in the rules, namely, the question of the organisation of the Party's central institutions. In private conversation with some members of the congress I have advocated complete merging in a single centre of the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee. I have given as reasons for this merger (1) that the division of the Party leadership between 'practical' and 'spiritual' is artificial, that leadership is essentially one, and that unity in leadership can be achieved only when it proceeds from a single centre, and (2) that participation by the editorial board in the work of the Central Committee will ensure that the latter body is able to carry out the duties entrusted to it. As you see, I want a merger between the Central Organ and the Central Committee not so that the CC may take part in the work of the editorial board, but the other way round.

I draw your attention to this point because Comrade Akimov has several times at this congress declared himself in favour of 'the strictest centralisation'. The centralisation that Comrade Akimov will defend is of a quite special sort. By certain remarks he has made known that it is to be combined with the principle of democratic election to the local committees. Over there, in Russia, Comrade Akimov will defend the principle of election, so as to weaken the influence of the Central Committee; here, at the Party's summit, he will defend 'the strictest centralisation', so as to weaken the influence of the Central Organ, and in this lies the whole significance of the

system he advocates. Not only do I not favour that sort of centralisation, but I am ready to combat it in every way, because it is the banner of opportunism. But, as before, I insist that if we want unity in the leadership of the Party, we must establish a single directing centre. If we cannot merge the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee in a single institution — whether because this is unattainable in practice, since the editorial board has to be abroad whereas the CC has to be in Russia, or because we fear a barbarian incursion into the editorial board: if, I repeat, we cannot completely merge the Central Organ and the Central Committee in a single institution, then we must nevertheless ensure in some way or other that the leadership of our Party proceeds from a single centre. The draft seeks to achieve this unity by creating a third centre, but the role of this centre is defined in the draft in an extremely unclear and imprecise way. In the first place, the Party Council is described as the ‘supreme’ institution. ‘Supreme’ means the same as ‘sovereign’, in other words, answerable to nobody. Only a *congress* can be that. There cannot be two supreme, that is, sovereign organs, and therefore the Council must be answerable to the congress, unless we confine the activity of the Council to *merely judicial* functions. Again, it seems to me — and the draft appears to concur on this point — the Council ought, besides functioning as a chamber of conciliation, to have the right to give instructions to the Central Committee, and also, perhaps, to the editors of the Central Organ. And, once we have given the Council the right to give guiding instructions to the CC, we must then give it also the right to see that these instructions are carried out. We must make the CC responsible to the Council, and along with this must give the Council the right to overrule decisions by the CC. Thus, we assign to the Council the functions of the Central Committee, and reduce the latter to the role of an Executive Committee. I have nothing against that: I merely want to see it expressed quite clearly in the Party rules.

In this way leadership in the Party will be exercised from a single centre. If it seems to you that by doing this we jeopardise the inviolability of the editorial board, then let three members of this single centre be drawn from the editorial board, and two from the CC. This is a secondary matter: what is important is that the leadership, the supreme leadership of the Party, shall proceed from a single source. The tasks before the Central Committee are enormous. Complete chaos still reigns in the organisation, and the CC will need to begin by

getting itself organised, creating the machinery through which it will exercise its functions. Comrade Trotsky has said in private conversation that life itself has given rise to two centres — the editorial board abroad, and, inside Russia, if not a Central Committee, then at least an Organising Committee. I always agree with Comrade Trotsky fifty per cent. Life has created one centre only — the editorial board — because the OC has not given leadership to anybody: its role has been that of a commission for convening the congress and that of organising the purely technical side of things. Now we are setting up a Central Committee. It will be confronted with a tremendous task. It would be naive to suppose that it will carry out this task without making any mistakes. Mistakes are inevitable, and we can to some extent even foresee what they will be. It seems to me that we can fear, in the first place, that the CC will lose perspective in the Party's work, getting absorbed in trivialities and forgetting the overall plan. This is quite natural when there is no machinery for general organisation, when every little detail has to be organised. Participation by the editorial board in the general leadership of the Party could undoubtedly prevent this from happening. Another method that would be of great benefit to the CC would be for the congress to give instructions regarding the CC's function. This is why I propose that the paragraph dealing with the responsibilities of the CC should contain a more precise indication of its field of work. I have tried to formulate the relation between the highest institutions of the Party, and their tasks, in eight paragraphs, which I am submitting to the commission together with some other amendments.

*Yegorov:* In amending his draft, Comrade Lenin took a step towards Comrade Popov's draft, but it was a very little step. If Comrade Lenin wanted to be thoroughly consistent he ought to have admitted that, in his draft, both the Central Committee and the Central Organ are merely executive organs, while the overall leading organ, which governs and directs, is the Council. In view of the important and responsible role which has been given to the Council, it is necessary that the Central Organ and the Central Committee be represented in it on an absolutely equal footing. Therefore, the fifth member of the Council must be drawn from elsewhere than the editorial board and the Central Committee. The essential defect of Comrade Lenin's draft is that it recognises some organisations which are nowhere actually enumerated. Suppose, for example, that the congress recognises it as

desirable that a popular organ be established but then, perhaps, the editors of this organ are not given the right to take part in the congress? I think that the rules should be drawn up in more general terms. I think that Comrade Lenin is wrong in his view that the limits of the competence of the CC ought not to be precisely defined. This view results from confusion between two questions, centralisation and interference. In practice the lack of definition of the sphere of competence of the CC will lead to many conflicts.

*Lieber:* Comrade Lenin has told us, in connection with his rules, that he has bent the stick in the other direction. That is true, but one can say that a stick has never been bent so vigorously. To use Comrade Trotsky's expression, one could say that Comrade Lenin's draft rules constitute 'organised distrust'. And indeed the central organs are set up in such a way as though nothing had existed previously, as though no centres had grown out of the work of the comrades in Russia, but these centres were being created by the rules. The second characteristic feature of this proposed draft of rules for a centralised party is its decentralising tendency. There can be no doubt that there are two centres in the draft, and not one, as some people have supposed, and this is the biggest defect in it. The Council should be called the CC, while what Comrade Lenin called the CC and the Central Organ are transformed into executive groups of the Party. The Central Committee ought to direct all the general affairs of the Party, just as the Central Committee of the Bund does. One can only be amazed that Comrade Lenin can propose a division between the functions of ideological and practical leadership, when he knows well what harm results from separation between practical workers and theoreticians. And from the example of *Iskra*, which Comrade Lenin uses to prove the need for separation between these two functions, we see, on the contrary, that this separation is inconceivable, for *Iskra* has been not only an ideological centre but also a practical one. Assigning the function of practical leadership as the sphere of activity of the Central Committee, while depriving it of other functions, would reduce its role to that of a salesman.

*Akimov* asked how local committees were to be formed. Would they, for example, be appointed by the CC?

*Lenin* explained that it was quite unnecessary to include a special point dealing with this matter, since we already had a number of committees, and so there could be no question of creating them.

*Martov* added that Comrade Akimov's question was relevant to another item in the agenda — confirmation of the list of Party organisations. As for subsequent changes in the composition of Party organisations, this was something that should be entrusted to the CC. While agreeing with Comrade Lieber's views on general organisational questions, I cannot agree with the conclusions which he draws from them; on the contrary, I associate myself with Comrade Lenin's conclusions. Only on two points do I disagree with him. On the first of these, the method of constituting the Council, it would be much better to elect two persons from each centre, who would then jointly choose the fifth member, drawn from the CC or the Central Organ. It is quite impossible to seek this fifth member from somewhere outside the two centres, as Comrade Yegorov proposes. In the first place, shall we find such a person outside the centres in which our best forces are concentrated? And in the second place, if we do find him, will he be independent enough? The second question on which I do not agree with Comrade Lenin is that I am opposed to unanimous co-option. I consider that we could lay it down that four-fifths, or, even better, two-thirds of the votes should suffice.

*Akimov:* I regard the present draft as unsatisfactory in two respects. First, no points have been formulated at all regarding the organisation of local committees and their sphere of competence. On the latter point there is even conscious and deliberate silence. According to the draft, the local committees are to be nothing but agents for the Central Committee, which can always replace them. The Central Committee is given the right to alter the composition of local committees, and that right is sufficient for it not to need any other rights. This plan will certainly lead to some organisations finding themselves outside the Party. For example, suppose the elected Petersburg Committee is replaced by a new one which is not in conformity with the wishes of the majority in that organisation. A split will result. The only acceptable plan, which I propose, is to allow the committees themselves the right to modify their composition. In proposing this I am quite sure beforehand that it will not be adopted, and that it will receive, maybe, no more than two or three votes. It seems to Comrade Popov that to propose a draft which will certainly not be adopted is to behave like Dobchinsky, who wanted all Russia to hear of him, and he cannot explain such conduct otherwise than by base motives. I am surprised that Comrade Popov cannot appreciate that there could be other



motives. The second point on which I find the draft unsatisfactory is the matter of the Council. Under the draft, the Central Organ is ensured predominance on the council if only because the composition of the editorial board is constant whereas that of the Central Committee is changeable. Thanks to this circumstance, it could happen that the Central Organ might differ in its views from those of the comrades in Russia, which could lead to a split.

*Popov:* Comrade Akimov said that I ascribed base motives to him. That is not true: I merely remarked that he was behaving like a Dobchinsky. Having made that observation, I pass to the substance of the matter. It has become clear from the discussion that there are two trends where the question of organisation is concerned. All are agreed that to merge the Central Organ and the CC in a single centre is impossible and that therefore we need the institution of a Council, but we differ on the question of the Council's role. According to the draft presented by Comrades Yegorov and Martov the Council should be merely an arbitration board, but according to Lenin's draft it should be the directing body. I propose that it be regarded as the directing centre of the Party, in which case it will be entirely unimportant whether there are more representatives on the Council from the Central Organ or from the Central Committee.

*Trotsky:* Comrade Akimov asked about the relations between the local committees and the CC and the latter's sphere of competence. The rules, he said, do not define the jurisdiction of the CC with sufficient precision. I cannot agree with him. On the contrary, this definition is precise and means that, inasmuch as the Party is a single entity, it must be ensured control over the local committees. Comrade Lieber said, borrowing my expression, that the rules were 'organised distrust'. That is true. But I used this expression in reference to the rules proposed by the Bund spokesmen, which represented organised distrust on the part of a section of the Party towards the whole Party. Our rules, on the other hand, represent the organised distrust of the Party towards all its sections, that is, control over all local, district, national and other organisations.

*Glebov:* There is no need to list the functions of the Central Committee in the rules, which should be drawn up in general terms. Local organisations should be given the right to appeal to the Council when they are disbanded. Comrade Lieber was afraid that the influence of

the CC would be reduced when the Council came into being. He forgot that in the Council there will not only be strangers but also members of the CC and also that, in general, the influence exercised by the CC cannot be established by rules. It depends entirely on the CC's own activity, and is only safeguarded by the rules.

*Akimov:* I again direct your attention to the question of the local committees. They should be allowed greater freedom of action, and no decision taken by the CC, the Central Organ or the Council should be allowed to go into effect otherwise than through the local committees. The local committees should be elected by the active workers in their localities, just as the CC is elected by the representatives of all the active organisations in Russia. And if even this cannot be allowed, then let the number of members that the CC may appoint to local committees be limited — all other members to be co-opted by the committees themselves. Otherwise the Central Committee could entirely annihilate a local committee — say, the Voronezh Committee. But, even so, it would not achieve its aim by doing this, since, although such committees had been disbanded and were only a minority in the Party as a whole, in the area where they were active they would continue to express the views of the majority of comrades who elected them.

*It was proposed that the list of speakers be closed.*

*Goldblatt* and *Lieber* said that the question of the Bund came into the matter that was under discussion, as the congress had decided, and the list of speakers ought not to be closed until this question had been discussed. To do so would mean violating the congress's own decision.

*Martov:* The question of the Bund has to be discussed separately. The rules provide general indication and do not deal with detailed relationships. The comrades from the Bund are wrong in getting so worked up about this matter, as though the congress were laying a trap for them.

*The proposal that the list of speakers be closed was adopted.*

*Yegorov:* I note that the closing of the list of speakers was a formal violation by the congress of its own decision regarding the second item of the agenda.

*The representative of the Bund made the following statement: 'We ask that it be recorded in the minutes that the decision of the congress to transfer the question of the Bund to the sixth item of the agenda remained unfulfilled, as the general debate was terminated before this question had been brought up for discussion.'* Signed: Lieber, Yudin, Goldblatt, Hofman, Abramson.

*The session was closed.*

## Fifteenth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12<sup>1</sup> persons with consultative voice.)*

*Karsky:* The misunderstanding with regard to the Council, it seems to me, is removed by the fact that each of the central institutions is to choose two men, and they are jointly to choose the fifth. This being so, the Central Committee is not reduced to the role of a salesman, as Comrade Akimov is so afraid might happen. His proposal regarding the local committees would raise a Chinese wall between the CC and the local committees, and is therefore absolutely unacceptable. As to the local associations, I think that they cannot be put on a par with local committees, and their number of votes should be more than two.

*Lange:* It is appropriate to touch on the question of a popular organ in the draft rules. This is a separate question from that of Party publications, and ought to be taken up in connection with the question of the Central Organ.

*Goldblatt:* It would be quite mistaken to reduce the disputes to which the proposed rules have given rise to differences between defenders and opponents of centralisation. We in the Bund have applied centralisation with complete consistency, we are all convinced supporters of it, and yet I unhesitatingly call Comrade Lenin's proposal monstrous. The centralist principle presupposes control by the higher organs of the Party over the lower ones, with observation and guidance of the latter, but in no case can it or ought it to lead to their destruction. Control can be combined with the continued existence of the institutions subject to it provided that some limits are laid down for the exercise of this control and that there is some definition of the competence of the organisations which are subject to it. Control by the central organs must consist only of checking that Party organisations

do not violate congress decisions, and do not act counter to the Party's programme and fundamental principles. Given certain temporary or local conditions the power of the centre may be somewhat widened, but this is what must be the basic principle, at least. The principle upon which Lenin's draft is based is quite different, however. It is permeated through and through with the desire to give the centre unrestricted powers and the unrestricted right to interfere in everything that any particular organisation may be doing. It sets absolutely no limits to this interference and destroys any and every competence so far as the various subordinate organisations are concerned, subverting their very capacity to exist. No organisation can exist if it be allowed only one right — to submit without a murmur to orders from above. The centre proposed by the draft would find itself in a vacuum, it would have no peripheral organisations around it, but only an amorphous mass in which its executive agents would move. No organisation can survive on such principles as that. I can only express amazement that not a single delegate from a committee has protested against such a monstrous proposal. However, that is their business: it is not for me to take on the role of advocate for committees which have not found it necessary or possible to safeguard their own *raison d'être*.

I turn now in particular to the question of the position in the Party which the proposed rules would assign to the Bund. Comrade Martov tried to show that adoption of these rules would not predetermine the question of the rights of the Bund. Comrade Lenin refuted this view quite clearly. He explained to us that he wants his draft rules adopted in advance merely so that points may then be devised, defining the position of the Bund, which will be based on these rules, as conclusions drawn directly from the principles expressed in these rules. In view of this explanation given by Comrade Lenin I think it necessary to say that adoption of these rules excludes beforehand any possibility that the points which we have put forward may be adopted, despite the fact that this way of pre-determining the question is being followed *without any discussion* of the points at issue. There can be no doubt that Comrade Lenin's rules exclude adoption of these points, since his rules leave wholly unprotected the very existence of the Bund, which could at any moment be dissolved at the discretion of the Central Committee, and also the Bund's freedom to dispose of the affairs of its own organisation, in which the Central Committee could, as Comrade Lenin has explained, interfere without any restriction, and so on. I should like to know the view on this matter held by the

author of the draft, and I put the following questions to Comrade Lenin. Does he not agree that his rules make it impossible to adopt the points put forward by the delegates from the Bund? Does he not agree that his rules clearly imply that the Central Committee of the Party has the right to change the composition of the Central Committee of the Bund, to dissolve it, to overrule decisions by congresses of the Bund, and so on and so forth? I await a definite answer to these questions.

In conclusion I draw the attention of those who want to make it impossible for our proposals to be adopted, without having discussed them, to the extreme seriousness of this moment. If our proposals, representing the minimum conditions for the Bund's existence, are rejected, this will thereby decide the question of the Bund's departure from the Party. I say this in my personal capacity, and the entire Bundist delegation will say the same.

*Lieber:* I hear many comrades uttering cries of indignation and astonishment at what my co-delegate Goldblatt has said, but this is quite pointless. Already when I introduced our 'draft' I made a similar statement, saying that our draft includes positions of principle without the adoption of which the Bund cannot remain in the Party. After this brief explanation, I turn to deal with the substance of the matter. We have said again and again that the way the question of the Bund is dealt with in Comrade Lenin's proposed organisational rules pre-determines the question of the Bund, and it is useless for Comrade Martov to deny this. When I suggested to Comrade Lenin that the words 'national organisations' be deleted from the relevant point in the rules, he refused, as he considered that everything he had said in this point must apply to that kind of organisation as well. Thus, without having yet discussed the question of national organisations, they present us, in Comrade Lenin's draft, with an already pre-determined answer to this question, and this is done, of course, quite deliberately.

We are told that the Bund will be treated as an exception. But we do not want this, we do not want a principle to be adopted according to which the Party's Central Committee could at any moment dissolve the Central Committee of the Bund, or even completely abolish it. It may be, of course, that they will not attempt to do this immediately — nevertheless, here a certain procedure is being indicated, here a certain way is being defined, which could lead to the suppression of the Bund, that 'historical abnormality', as Comrade Martov called it.

And here indignation is expressed about our 'ultimatums'. Let us leave aside, however, the question whether or not there has been any 'ultimatum' in this case. Would not any organisation at all, without any question of ultimatums, break away if principles were adopted at the congress, against its own opinion, which contradicted the very foundations of its existence? Would not the editors of *Iskra*, for instance, break away, if their organisational principle were to be rejected, and what has been called 'democratisation' adopted? They are not going to do that here, of course, because they have a very large majority on their side. But we are not so placed. What does Comrade Lenin offer us? He has drawn up a death sentence on us, but he defers the execution of it for a certain period, the decision as to the time for execution of this death sentence being left to the Central Committee. But are you so naive, comrades, as to suppose for one moment that if such rules are adopted we shall remain in the Party? That we shall willingly sign our own death warrant? No, this will never happen. We are not yet ready to die: on the contrary, we feel a fresh access of strength! And we are sure that if our comrades are capable of seeing matters from the standpoint of the real interests of the Russian Social-Democratic movement, and not of some phantom organisation of generals without an army, they will approve our conduct and our attitude to the rules that have been presented to us.

*Lenin:* I will make my concluding speech after the commission has done its work on the rules.

*Elected to the commission were: Lenin, Martov, Yegorov, Popov and Glebov.*

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*The congress proceeded to discuss the Programme, beginning with discussion of the general part, taken point by point.*

*The commission had left the first paragraph as it stood (see the Iskra-Zarya draft).*

*Martynov* proposed that the first paragraph be formulated thus: 'the close ties between the capitalist countries of the civilised world, and the common interests of the proletariat, had to make, and did make, the movement international,' and so on.

*Akimov:* When I began to study the draft programme which we are now discussing, I wrote out each of its separate theses on separate sheets of paper. Then I set myself to find the corresponding theses in the Gotha and Erfurt, Hainfeld and Vienna, Guesdist, Belgian, Italian and Swedish programmes, and the Rules of the International. I found that on almost every point this draft differed from all the other programmes, sometimes markedly, sometimes only in the expressions used. Comparing all these variations, I noticed that they all presented one and the same aspect and were permeated with one and the same tendency, namely: denial that the proletariat exercises any creative power in the development of Social-Democracy, minimisation of the active role of the proletariat.

Sometimes these variations — as, for example, in the case we are now considering — are not particularly important, but they nevertheless ought to be put right, because they manifest a tendency, and this tendency is a mistaken one.

In the first point of the draft the causes of the international character of our movement are described. This international character is due to two causes. In the first place, the uniformity of interests and of conditions of life among the proletarians of different countries, regardless of the different political forms under which they have to struggle. In the second place, the mutual dependence in economic life between all the capitalist countries.

The ties between different localities were regarded by Marx as merely the final factor giving unity to a struggle which was homogeneous even without them. He writes *inter alia*, in the *Manifesto*, of 'the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one, national struggle between classes.' Later, Marx generalises this idea, passing from the national to the international movement: 'National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.'

Accordingly, in the Rules of the International, Marx stresses the unity of interests of those nations in which a labour movement has arisen: 'The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national,



but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists.'

In exactly the same way the Erfurt Programme says: 'The interests of the working class are identical in all countries where capitalist production exists.' The Vienna Programme says: 'The fight against oppression must be international, like the oppression itself': that is, in countries where the same form of oppression, namely, capitalism, prevails, the movement likewise arises as a uniform, international movement. This passage in the programme was already present in the Hainfeld text.

In the *Iskra* draft only one factor is mentioned, namely, the link established between peoples by exchange. The other factor, namely, that which is alone mentioned in the other programmes, is not to be found in this draft.

This one-sided explanation of the international character of our movement is typical of the whole draft. Completely omitted from it are those factors which create the distinctive, sharply defined psychology of the proletariat and stimulate the latter's class-consciousness. The first point in the draft should therefore be corrected.

*Rusov*: I suggest that we take all Comrade Akimov's amendments together, since they essentially belong together, differing in principle from the *Iskra* programme.

*Akimov (on a point of order)*: It was physically impossible for me to defend my amendments in the commission, as I was restricted to five minutes, and I am not presenting all of them now. I could, indeed, set forth the whole lot here, but that would take me two or two-and-a-half hours.

*Martov*: I speak as a delegate concerned for the success of our congress. Why could Comrade Akimov not have set out his counter-draft in the Russian press in the course of the year? I do not know what the solution is, but I do point out the great inconvenience of turning the congress into an academic session.

*Chairman*: Comrade Akimov quite correctly observed that these are important questions. And for that reason we must take a practical step so as not to waste time. And this practical step is the congress standing orders, which must be strictly obeyed. In the standing orders it is laid down that everyone has the right to speak for ten minutes. I interpret

this as meaning that a delegate can speak for ten minutes about the whole programme.

*Akimov* asked that the standing order in question be read out, and, receiving no answer, made the following declaration: 'I request that it be recorded in the minutes that the Chairman, when putting to the vote his interpretation of a standing order, refused my request that the text of the standing order be read out. The Chairman invited me to apply to the secretary.'

*Martov*: I propose that delegates be allowed to speak once, for five minutes, on each point.

*Martov's proposal was adopted.*

*The first paragraph of the programme was voted on and adopted, with 42 votes (see the Iskra-Zarya draft programme).*

*Akimov*: I regard it as quite impossible to discuss the programme point by point under such restrictions. It is not possible to develop one's idea in five minutes, and it is useless to formulate it if one is not to be allowed to speak a second time in order to answer objections. What *Plekhanov* said about the numerousness of the amendments I have put forward is without foundation. I did indeed submit 21 amendments to the commission, but I want to defend before the congress only five or six of these, which are of especially great importance on grounds of principle.

According to the standing order, I have the right to speak three times, for ten minutes, on each amendment, that is, for half an hour altogether. Six amendments would take three hours altogether, if I made full use of my rights in connection with each amendment. Very few amendments have been moved apart from mine, and most of them, as their authors testify, are not concerned with matters of principle. It is therefore possible for the congress to listen to my explanations of my amendments. *Martov's* statement that I ought to have set forth my views earlier, in the press, is also pointless. I was bound by organisational discipline: now I am able and wish to defend my views.

*Akimov* then made the following declaration: 'According to the standing orders of the Congress, every member has the right to speak three times on each question which is to be voted on, and to speak for ten minutes on each occasion.'

‘When, during the general discussion of the programme, a proposal was made that the list of speakers be closed, the chairman stated, at Comrade Makhov’s request,<sup>2</sup> that, after the draft had been discussed in commission, and when it was being discussed point-by-point, speakers would again be allowed to express their views, about the programme generally.

‘The congress majority is now depriving the minority of the possibility of defending its amendments by restricting to five minutes, contrary to standing orders and to the chairman’s previous statements, the time allowed for speakers to defend their amendments — that is, to a period of time in which it is not physically possible to set forth any substantial arguments in favour of the amendments being moved.

‘Taking account of the fact that the congress majority has coerced the minority by refusing to hear its arguments against the draft, I decline to move my amendments to the draft, since I have been deprived of my right to defend these amendments.’

*The second paragraph of the programme was approved, with 44 votes, but with the words ‘their Party’ changed to ‘themselves’.*

*As regards the third paragraph, the commission proposed that the first sentence be separated off as a paragraph on its own, and that after the words ‘nature of the words ‘present-day’ be inserted. In this form the third paragraph was adopted with 43 votes.*

*The remaining part of the third paragraph (now 3a) was adopted unanimously.*

Martynov moved an amendment to the fourth paragraph, to replace the last sentence by the following phrase: ‘standing in direct or indirect dependence upon capital’.

*The amendment was rejected and the fourth paragraph adopted with 39 votes.*

*The fifth paragraph was adopted unanimously.*

*In the sixth paragraph the commission proposed that the words ‘or even’ be replaced by: ‘and sometimes also’.<sup>3</sup>*

*The sixth paragraph, as amended by the commission, was adopted by 27 votes to 11.*

*The seventh paragraph was adopted, with 41 votes.*

*The commission amended (by two votes to one) the eighth paragraph by inserting, after the words: 'numbers and cohesion', the word 'consciousness'.*

*Lenin:* This insertion is a change for the worse. It gives the impression that consciousness grows spontaneously. In international Social-Democracy there is no conscious activity of the workers independent of the influence of the Social-Democrats.

*Gorin:* I consider this insertion inappropriate, as what is being spoken of here is a process of spontaneous growth, which must be distinguished from a particular process — the acceleration of a natural process.

*Martov:* Comrade Gorin is quite right. Theoretically we cannot isolate spontaneous growth from conscious influence (the activity of the midwife), but in the programme of the Party's activity we have to distinguish between them. If consciousness is not given a socialist character, then what is produced is a muddle, methodologically incorrect and architecturally inconsistent. If consciousness is treated as something spontaneous, this is theoretically incorrect, because that is not consciousness.

*Lieber:* 'Discontent', if this is understood as something unconscious, does not grow but declines. As a conscious process, however, it grows.

*Martynov:* This thesis is formulated so unclearly that even those who wrote it interpret it in different ways. But every passage in the programme must be capable of only a single, definite and clear-cut interpretation. Here we need to conceive the entire process as a whole, including the activity of Social-Democracy as well, and by doing so we do not in any way belittle the active role of Social-Democracy.

*A vote was taken. The amendment was rejected and the original drafting approved by a majority.*

*The ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth paragraphs were approved without alteration.*

*In the thirteenth paragraph, at Martov's suggestion, the words: 'at every step survivals are still encountered' was replaced by: 'there are still very many survivals'. The word 'social' before 'order', was deleted.<sup>4</sup>*

*Paragraph 14 was adopted in its original form. In Paragraph 15, at the suggestion of Lieber and Plekhanov, the word 'democratic' was inserted before 'republic', and the phrase at the end was altered to read: 'the constitution of which would ensure . . .'*

*The session was closed.*

## Sixteenth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice)*

*Discussion of the general-political part of the Party programme.*

*Article 1 of the commission's draft read: 'Sovereignty of the people, that is, concentration of supreme state power wholly in the hands of a legislative assembly forming a single chamber and composed of representatives of the people.'*

*Trotsky proposed a stylistic amendment, namely, that the last part of this article should read: 'in the hands of a legislative assembly consisting of representatives of the people and forming a single chamber.'*

*Lyadov proposed that the commission's formulation be retained, but with the words 'single and undivided' inserted before 'legislative assembly'.*

*Strakhov proposed that the words 'sovereignty of the people' be replaced by 'supremacy of the people', because the latter expression defined better the idea which had to be expressed in this instance. What was meant here, of course, was the sovereignty of parliament, or, more correctly, the supremacy of the people exercised through the sovereignty of parliament. Consequently, the expression 'sovereignty of the people' was unfortunate, and juridically incorrect in the given context.*

*Gusev supported Comrade Strakhov's amendment, but for other reasons. In all our proclamations we cry: 'Down with autocracy!' [The Russian word usually translated, as here, by 'autocracy', is also the word used in the draft programme for 'sovereignty' – Trans.] and by doing so we seek to make the very word 'autocracy' hateful to the people.*

*Lenin* considered *Strakhov's* amendment infelicitous, since what the commission's formulation stressed was *the will of the people*.

*Gorin* proposed that Article I be worded like this: 'Sovereignty . . . in the hands of a single-chambered assembly . . . of the people.'

*Martov* objected to *Comrade Gusev's* argument, saying that, on the contrary, it was of agitational significance to counterpose *the sovereignty of the people to the autocracy [or: sovereignty – Trans.] of the Tsar*.

*Voting on the amendments went as follows:*

1) *Comrade Lyadov's*: rejected by a big majority.

2) *Comrade Trotsky's*: adopted by 20 to 7.

3) *Comrade Gorin's*: rejected by a majority, with only one vote cast for it.

4) *Comrade Strakhov's*: rejected by 25 to 8.

*The whole paragraph, as drafted by the commission, but with Trotsky's amendment, was approved.*

*The rapporteur of the commission, Yegorov, read Article 2: 'Universal, equal and direct suffrage in elections both to the legislative assembly and to all local organs of self-government, for all citizens and citizenesses who have attained the age of 20; secret ballot at elections; the right of every voter to be elected to any representative institution; proportional representation; payment of the people's representatives.'*

*Martov* proposed that the point about proportional representation be deleted.

*Muravyov* thought that 'citizens and citizenesses' would read better as 'citizens of either sex'.

*Koltsov* proposed that the words: 'biennial parliaments' be inserted, as this would provide opportunities for frequent agitation.

*Karsky* proposed to add, after the word 'citizenesses', 'without distinction of nation or religion'.

*Yegorov* supported retention of the point about proportional representation, as this would give the most accurate expression of the relation between social forces. As regards biennial parliaments, it seemed to him impossible to demonstrate on grounds of principle the

expediency of precisely this periodisation. Circumstances might arise in which it would be awkward for the Party to have bound itself to a biennial parliament.

*Popov* supported Comrade Koltsov's proposal, mentioning that in Europe the Social-Democrats fought to shorten the period between parliamentary elections, so as the better to ensure the responsibility of deputies to the people.

*Trotsky*: I support Martov's proposal that the demand for proportional representation be deleted, because this demand *has no basis in principle*. Cases may occur, with uniform electoral areas, when we shall not demand proportional representation, since this would ensure that every shade of political tendency could secure representation, which would reinforce a policy of groups and nuances, preventing the formation of large political parties.

*Starover* thought that Social-Democrats should fight for short parliaments, but that it was inexpedient to prescribe a particular duration.

*Fomin*: I cannot agree with Comrade Trotsky's objection to proportional representation. The experience of those countries where it exists does not in the least confirm the fears which he expressed. Thus, in Belgium, where there is a system of proportional representation (even though distorted by plural voting) we see an almost complete absence of petty political groups and factions, whereas in Germany, where proportional representation does not obtain, such factions are numerous.

*Gusev* said that in Belgium the existence of the plural vote greatly obscured the significance of proportional representation. The example of Belgium was therefore not happily chosen, and proved nothing.

*Posadovsky*: The statements which have been made here for and against the amendments seem to me to represent not a dispute about details but a serious difference. There can be no doubt that we do not agree on the following basic question: *should we subordinate our future policy to certain fundamental democratic principles and attribute absolute value to them, or should all democratic principles be exclusively subordinated to the interests of our Party?* I am decidedly in favour of the latter. There is not a single one among the principles of democracy which we ought not to subordinate *to the interests of our Party*. [Exclamations: 'Not inviolability of the person?'] No, not inviolability of the person!



As a revolutionary party striving to achieve our ultimate aim, the social revolution, we must consider democratic principles exclusively from the standpoint of the most rapid achievement of that aim, from the standpoint of the interests of our Party. If any particular demand is against our interests, we must not include it.

Consequently, I oppose the amendments which have been proposed, as being capable of restricting our freedom of action in the future.

*Plekhanov*: I fully associate myself with what Comrade Posadovsky has said. Every particular democratic principle must be considered not in itself, abstractly, but in its relation to that principle which can be called the basic principle of democracy, namely, the principle called: *salus populi suprema lex*. Translated into the language of the revolutionary, this means that the success of the revolution is the highest law. And if, for the sake of the revolution's success, we need temporarily to restrict the functioning of a particular democratic principle, then it would be criminal to refrain from imposing that restriction. My personal view is that even the principle of universal suffrage must be looked at from the standpoint of what I have called the basic principle of democracy. Hypothetically, a case is conceivable where we Social-Democrats would oppose universal suffrage. There was a time when the bourgeoisie of the Italian republics deprived members of the nobility of political rights. The revolutionary proletariat may restrict the political rights of the upper classes in the same way as the upper classes used to restrict its political rights. The appropriateness of such a measure can be decided only from the standpoint of the rule: *salus revolutiae suprema lex*.<sup>1</sup> And we must take the same attitude where the question of the length of parliaments is concerned. If, in an outburst of revolutionary enthusiasm, the people should elect a very good parliament — a sort of *Chambre Introuvable* — it would suit us to try and make that a *Long Parliament*; but if the elections turned out badly for us, we should have to try to disperse the resulting parliament not after two years but, if possible, after two weeks.

*Applause. From some benches, hissing. Voices: 'You should not hiss!'*

*Plekhanov*: Why not? I strongly request the comrades not to restrain themselves.

*Yegorov rises and says:* Since such speeches call forth applause, I am obliged to hiss.

*Yegorov:* Comrade Plekhanov did not pay heed to the fact that the laws of war are one thing and constitutional laws are another. We are writing our programme with a constitution in mind.

*Goldblatt* saw in Comrade Plekhanov's words an imitation of bourgeois tactics. To be logical we ought, on the basis of what Plekhanov said, to strike the demand for universal suffrage out of our programme.

*Voting on the amendments was as follows:*

1) *Murav'ov's: rejected by a big majority.*

2) *Martov's: adopted by 16 to 10.*

3) *Koltsov's: adopted by 22 to 14.*

*Article 2, as amended by Martov and Koltsov, was approved by a big majority.*

*Article 3, as edited by the commission, read:* 'Extensive local and regional self-government.'

*Lenin* opposed the word 'regional', as it was very vague and might be interpreted to mean that the Social-Democrats wanted to split the whole state up into small regions.

*Lieber* supported the word 'regional', since the words 'local self-government' meant self-government for towns and villages: a region was a union of towns and villages.

*Martov* disagreed with Comrade Lieber's argument, as it had nothing in common with Social-Democratic reasoning. We cannot be in favour of unauthorised unions of communes. But the huge extent of Russia, and experience of our centralised administration, gives us grounds for regarding as necessary and appropriate the existence of regional self-government for such large entities as Finland, Poland, Lithuania and Caucasia. Martov therefore moved an amendment to the resolution, proposing that Article 3 should read, as a whole: 'Extensive local self-government; regional self-government for those border districts which in respect of conditions of life and make-up of population differ from the strictly-Russian localities.'

*Kostrov* supported Comrade Martov's proposal and considered that to include it in the Party programme would possess extensive agitational significance and attract new forces to the Party. In some places, including their own Caucasia, the idea of regional self-government was very popular.

*Karsky* considered that regional self-government was needed precisely because some localities were very distinctive in their conditions of life and could develop only if granted autonomy.

*Rusov*: I support Comrade Martov's proposal to insert a demand for regional self-government, and the need for special mention to be made of our border districts. The variety in conditions of life and make-up of population creates a situation in these border districts such that local institutions are needed to correspond to these conditions. That the central districts and the border districts cannot be brought under one heading has been recognised even by the Russian autocracy, though it implements this recognition in a distorted way. The Polish comrades supported their demand for Polish autonomy by the need for extensive self-government, in order to safeguard the possibility of cultural development, and so this point will give them full satisfaction. This demand will also answer the nationalists who think that the problem of the border districts can be solved only by their political isolation. Finally, this decision, which does not run counter to our basic principles, provides us with a weapon for the fight against the nationalist organisations which have recently appeared — *Gruziya*,<sup>3</sup> for example. By calling for autonomy for Georgia in order to ensure the development of national culture they want to organise all classes of society under the national flag. If we were to declare once more that the safeguarding of national culture is not contrary to the interests of the entire proletariat of Russia, that would powerfully insure the workers against the influence of such elements. While having principled significance in the sense of providing a solution to the problem of the border districts, inclusion of this additional point in the programme would also bring the practical results I have mentioned. I therefore direct the comrades' attention specially to this proposal.

*Trotsky*: I am against Comrade Martov's amendment. In so far as it is of purely technical significance, it is superfluous: *local* self-government can embrace 'regions' as well — the expression does not predetermine the limits of the area concerned. In so far as it possesses

significance on the plane of principle it is covered by Point 7 of the political programme.

*Martynov* considered that the word 'self-determination' could not be given a wide interpretation: it meant merely the right for a nation to secede and form a separate political entity, and not at all regional self-government.

*Strakhov* proposed that the word 'regional' be deleted as superfluous in this article, and as only introducing confusion into the concept of extensive local self-government.

*The discussion on Article 3 ended and votes were taken:*

- 1) *The Lenin-Strakhov amendment, for Article 3 to read: 'extensive local self-government', was rejected by 26 to 14.*
- 2) *The commission's proposal was rejected by 25 to 17.*
- 3) *Comrade Martov's proposal was adopted by 28 to a small number of votes.*

*The commission's version of Article 4 was read: 'Inviolability of person and domicile.'*

*This was adopted unanimously, without discussion.*

*Article 5 coincided with Article 4 of the old draft.*

*Lieber* proposed that after the words 'of publication' the words 'and of language' be added. [*Laughter.*] Even though this arouses mirth I regard it as important from the standpoint of principle. In the commission Comrade Lenin proposed that this mention of 'language' be shifted to Article 6. Such a transfer was considered inappropriate, since it is not the case that a citizen is victimised for using a language but that the very right to use a language is subjected to discrimination, and the freedom of any citizen to speak his own language, should this differ from the state language, in any institution, is inhibited. Thus, for example, Poles enjoy equality of civil rights in Germany and yet at the same time their language is discriminated against.

*Martov* considered the expression 'freedom of language' unclear, owing to its double meaning. Equality of rights for all citizens implied freedom to speak whatever language they wished. The speaker said that in Germany, in Silesia, what the Poles demanded was 'equal rights'.

*Karsky* did not agree with *Martov's* argument and considered that the right to speak one's native language was a very necessary and important right, and not a trifling matter. It was especially important in legal proceedings and in local institutions.

*A vote was taken on Comrade Lieber's amendment, and it was rejected by a big majority.*

*Article 5 was voted on as a whole, and approved by a big majority.*

*Article 6, as edited by the commission, was identical with Article 5 of the old draft. This article was adopted unanimously without discussion.*

*Article 7, as edited by the commission, read: 'Abolition of social estates and complete equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, religion, race, nationality or language.'*

*Lieber* thought it absurd to include the word 'language' in this paragraph and demanded that it be made the subject of a separate article: it was not that the citizen was victimised for using a language, but that his very *right* to speak his own language was subjected to discrimination.

*Lensky* proposed to add to Article 7: 'the right of every citizen to express himself in his own language in any place: in state institutions and in schools.'

*Goldblatt* supported Comrade Lieber in calling for the language question to be accorded a separate article.

*Yegorov* agreed that to add the words 'of language' to the commission's formulation would say nothing about equality of languages. Since in Poland, in Little Russia and elsewhere people were forbidden to use their mother-tongue at meetings, in court and in postal institutions, we ought to include a clear and positive demand for equality of languages.

*A proposal was made for the discussion to be terminated, but this was rejected. A proposal that the list of speakers be closed was adopted.*

*Martov* regarded it as fetishism when speakers insisted that nationalities enjoyed equality, and transferred inequality to the sphere of language, whereas the question should be examined from just the opposite angle: inequality of nationalities exists, and one of its

manifestations is that people belonging to certain nations are deprived of the right to use their mother-tongue.

*Lvov* considered that the question of the suppression of languages which had been raised by the border districts was a very serious one. It was important to include a point on language in our programme and thus obviate any possibility of the Social-Democrats being accused of Russifying tendencies.

*Kostich* considered that restrictions on language encroached upon the equality of citizens in the use of their constitutional rights, and that it was not merely a question of restricted right to use a language.

*Lieber* proposed that the words 'and of language' be deleted from Article 7 of the commission's draft and that a new paragraph, on equality of languages, be included in Article 7.

*Trotsky* (*on a point of order*) asked that a vote be taken first of all on whether a special point about equality of languages was desired.

*The voting was 23 for and 23 against. A roll-call vote produced the same result.\**

*Trotsky* asked if the result of the vote could be taken as recording a negative, since a quite new proposal was being voted on and an equal number of votes had been cast for and against.

*Lieber* protested against this interpretation and demanded equal treatment for both sides.

*The amendments were then voted on.*

*1) Comrade Lieber's (see above): 17 for, 23 against, rejected.*

*2) Comrade Lensky's: 'the right of every citizen to express himself in his own language everywhere: in state institutions, schools . . .'  
Rejected by a big majority.*

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\* Those who voted in favour were: Rusov (2 votes), Bekov (2 votes), Karsky (2 votes), Makhov (2 votes), Lvov (2 votes), Medvedev, Posadovsky, Lensky, Popov, Yegorov, Gorsky, Brouckère, Martynov, Hofman, Goldblatt, Yudin, Lieber, Abramson. *Against were:* Gusev, Osipov, Kostich, Pavlovich, Panin (2 votes), Sorokin, Byelov, Lyadov, Gorin, Fomin, Muravyov, Lange, Dyedov, Trotsky, Orlov, Plekhanov, Lenin (2 votes), Martov (2 votes), Hertz, Braun. Abstentions: Tsaryov, Stepanov, Deutsch. Absent: Ivanov, Akimov.

3) *Comrade Yegorov's*: 'equality of languages in all schools, institutions and meetings'. 24 for, 24 against. When a roll-call vote was taken, *Kostrov's proposal was passed by 24 votes to 23*.\*

*The session was closed.*

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\* Those who voted in favour were: Rusov (2 votes), Bekov (2 votes), Karsky (2 votes), Makhov (2 votes), Lvov (2 votes), Medvedev, Byelov, Posadovsky, Lensky, Popov, Yegorov, Brouckère, Martynov, Deutsch, Hofman, Goldblatt, Yudin, Lieber, Abramson. *Against*: Gusev, Osipov, Kostich, Pavlovich, Stepanov, Panin (2 votes), Sorokin, Lyadov, Gorin, Fomin, Muravyov, Lange, Dyedov, Trotsky, Orlov, Plekhanov, Lenin (2 votes), Martov (2 votes), Hertz, Braun.

Abstentions: Tsaryov, Gorsky. Absent: Ivanov, Akimov.

## Seventeenth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The minutes of the seventh and eighth sessions were read and approved.*

*The congress then proceeded to further discussion of Article 7 of the programme.*

*Goldblatt moved an amendment to delete from Article 7, as edited by the commission, the words: 'and of language'.*

*The amendment was passed by 24 to 14.*

*Article 7, as amended by Comrade Kostrov, was then voted on as a whole. The first vote taken gave 22 for and 20 against, and a second vote gave 24 for and 24 against.*

*The question of what to do about Article 7 then arose.*

*Lenin proposed that Article 7 be referred to the commission once more, and, if it proved unable to satisfy both sides, that the question be held over to the next congress.*

*Lieber protested against reference to the commission. Since certain parts of the article had been adopted, the whole article had thereby been adopted.*

*The Chairman explained that after voting on separate sections, each of the articles was to be voted on *en bloc*.*

*Karsky opposed reference of the article to the commission and proposed that the whole article be deleted.*

*Goldblatt also opposed reference of the article to the commission, in view of the fact that this would merely result in the artificial formation*



of a majority, which did not as yet exist, for rejecting the entire article. He called for a further vote to be taken immediately.

*Popov* proposed reference of the article to the commission so that a happier formulation might be found, as it was impossible to reject the entire article for the sake of a few words.

*Panin* called for an end to the discussion of this question and for the congress to proceed to next business.

*Martov* considered the whole amendment unfortunate, not only from the stylistic standpoint but also from that of logic.

*Plekhanov* proposed that the article about abolishing social estates and establishing equality of civil rights be left in the programme, while the language question should be held over for a future congress. In his view it was clear that this question had not yet reached a state where it could be decided, and it required clarification in the Party press.

*Yegorov*: Comrade Plekhanov's proposal runs counter to the wish of the congress. Since the congress has already discussed and adopted an amendment on language it has thereby acknowledged its competence to deal with this question.

*Karsky* considered insulting the mere proposition that such a burning question as that of language could be regarded as unready for decision and beyond the power of the congress to settle.

*Martynov* proposed that the amendment be referred to the commission for stylistic improvement.

*Popov* called for a fresh vote to be taken.

*The congress voted. Comrade Lenin's proposal was rejected by 26 to 24 and Comrade Plekhanov's by 28 to 17. Comrade Popov's proposal was adopted with 28 votes.*

*Article 7, as amended by Comrade Kostrov, was voted on once more, and rejected by 25 to 24.*

*Trotsky and Panin* proposed that the addition to Article 7 be referred to the commission.

*Lieber* proposed that a commission to work out a formulation for Article 7 be elected at once.

*Martynov* urged that his proposal be put to the vote.

*A proposal to close the discussion was moved and adopted.*

*Comrade Lieber* proposed that the congress answer three questions: (a) should the article in question be again sent back to the commission? (b) if so, should it be entrusted to the old commission or should a new one be elected? and (c) for what purpose was the article to be referred to the commission?

*Proposal (a), that the article be referred to the commission, was adopted unanimously. On the question of the purpose of doing this, two proposals were presented: (1) by Comrade Lenin, that the article be referred to the commission without any particular instruction, and (2) by Comrade Martynov, that it be referred for editing and reconciling of the separate sections.*

*25 votes were cast for Comrade Lenin's proposal and 26 (by roll-call vote) for Comrade Martynov's.\* The latter was therefore adopted.*

*By 27 votes to 24 it was decided to refer the article to the old programme commission.*

*The congress passed to discussion of Article 8 of the general-political part of the programme which, as edited by the commission, read: 'The right of self-determination for all nations included within the bounds of the state.'*

*Goldblatt:* It is impossible to object to the 'right of self-determination'. If any nation fights for its independence we cannot oppose it. If Poland does not want to enter into lawful wedlock with Russia, then its wishes must not be obstructed, as Plekhanov put it. I agree with this view, within these limits. But the 'right of self-determination' does not prevent certain frictions and clashes which may arise. We are told that those points in our programme which ensure a democratic constitution are all that is needed. I think this is not so. A democratic constitution merely unties people's hands so that

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\* When a roll-call vote was taken, the following voted for Comrade Lenin's proposal: Gusev, Osipov, Pavlovich, Stepanov, Panin (2 votes), Sorokin, Lyadov, Gorin, Fomin, Muravyov, Lange, Dyedov, Trotsky, Lensky, Orlov, Gorsky, Plekhanov, Deutsch, Lenin (2 votes), Martov (2 votes), Hertz and Braun. For Comrade Martynov's proposal there voted: Rusov (2 votes), Bekov (2 votes), Karsky (2 votes), Makhov (2 votes), Lvov (2 votes), Tsaryov, Kostich, Ivanov, Medvedev, Byelov, Posadovsky, Popov, Yegorov, Brouckère, Akimov, Martynov, Lieber, Goldblatt, Abramson, Yudin, Hofman.

they can fight, and therefore we need to have special demands to safeguard the rights of a national minority. In the article about regional self-government the congress recognised the need to adapt the structure of the state to special local conditions. But the concept 'regional self-government' does not coincide with what Article 8 is about, for a nation does not always coincide with territory. Regional self-government may therefore only ensure self-government for every nation which lives in a particular territory, while not ensuring the free development of a national minority. I consider it necessary to set up special institutions to ensure freedom of cultural development for the nationalities, and so I move that we add to Article 8: 'and the establishment of institutions ensuring their full freedom of cultural development'.

*Martynov* said that common institutions must be organised in such a way as to look after particular interests as well. It was not possible to establish any *special* institutions for ensuring freedom of cultural development for a nationality.

*Yegorov*: Where the question of nationality is concerned we can adopt only negative propositions — i.e., we are against any constraint being exercised upon a nationality. But, as Social-Democrats, it is of no concern to us whether a particular nationality develops as such. That is a matter for a spontaneous process.

*Koltsov*: The delegates from the Bund always take offence when their nationalism is talked about. And yet the amendment which the comrade from the Bund has moved is of a purely nationalist character. They want us to take offensive measures in support of nationalities which are dying out.

*Lieber*: Since the bogey of nationalism has appeared on the scene, we must, instead of taking fright at it, ask ourselves these questions. Does national oppression exist? Must we get rid of it? Or are we going to allow some nationalities to be ousted? Naturally, if some nationality considers it is unable to go on living within the frontiers of Russia, the Party will not stand in its way. But there are in Russia a number of nationalities which do not want to leave the country, but which do suffer from oppression. How could the Russian proletariat have developed if the intellectual classes of Russian society had not given it something of their culture? Yet the Jewish proletariat receives no benefits from its own oppressed intelligentsia. Consequently, for

the sake of the proletariat we should guarantee to every nationality the right to cultural development within the bounds of the state: otherwise it will want to escape from those bounds.

*A proposal to close the list of speakers was adopted.*

**Martov:** Comrade Lieber would like to see included in our democratic constitution a guarantee of freedom of national development. But such guarantees are not provided by a mere phrase, and Comrade Lieber did not show concretely what institutions ought to be set up in order to guarantee these rights.

**Kostich:** Every nation must have such institutions, says Comrade Lieber, and these institutions are closely bound up with the organisation plan put forward by the Bund.

*The congress voted. Goldblatt's amendment was rejected by the majority, with 3 votes for. Lieber's proposal that Article 8 be worded thus: 'Recognition, for all nations forming part of the state, of the right of self-determination and the right to freedom of cultural development' was rejected by the majority, with 4 votes for.*

*Article 8 as edited by the commission was adopted by an overwhelming majority, with a few abstentions.*

*Article 9, as edited by the commission, coincided with Article 8 of the old draft.*

**Fomin** proposed an amendment: after the word 'citizen', to insert: 'and also foreigner'.

**Lenin** considered the addition of the word 'foreigner' unnecessary, since it was self-evident that a Social-Democratic Party would stand for extending the application of this article to foreigners as well.

**Lieber:** Comrade Lenin says that it is 'self-evident' that Social-Democrats will stand for a law by which any foreigner can prosecute officials. No, this is not 'self-evident', as can be seen, for example, from the fact that when Russian revolutionaries have been arrested in Germany and put in irons, and so on, our German comrades have protested only against particular cases, and have never introduced into parliament a bill for a law of this kind.

**Trotsky:** I request that Comrade Lieber's words be recorded in the minutes.

*Martov*: Since Comrade Lieber's words are to be recorded in the minutes and will perhaps be published and become known abroad, I think it necessary to protest against the implication contained in them that our German comrades take up an attitude of indifference to the fate of Russian Social-Democrats. It is not a question of the German comrades' unwillingness but of the German constitution. I protest against Comrade Lieber's statement, which I regard as a chauvinist *boutade*.

*Tsaryov* proposed that Article 9 be formulated as follows: 'Direct accountability before juries to apply to all officials against whom any person lodges a complaint.'

*Plekhanov* proposed that the word 'citizen' in the commission's version be replaced by: 'victim'.

*Strakhov* wished the entire article to be worded thus: 'The right of any person to prosecute any official before a jury, through the usual channels.'

*Hertz* offered a different formulation: 'Granting of the right to everyone to prosecute any official before a jury without complaining to the authorities.'

*When votes were taken, Fomin's proposal received 3 votes, Tsaryov's 12, Plekhanov's 8, Strakhov's 30, and Hertz's 13. Strakhov's formulation was consequently adopted.*

*The commission then proposed that Article 11 should read: 'Judges to be elected by the people.'*

*Broutchère* proposed these additions: (a) abolition of special courts; (b) all persons to be subject to the jurisdiction of the general courts in the normal way; (c) abolition of the death penalty; (d) free legal aid.

*Lieber* supported the point about abolishing special courts. He referred to the example of France, where the Socialists were fighting against special courts-martial.

*Trotsky* considered this point superfluous, since by calling for the election of judges we were thereby calling for the abolition of all special courts.

*Martov*: We call for the abolition of the standing army. When there is no army there will be no courts-martial, just as when social estates

have been abolished there will be no nobles' courts. There is no need to include petty demands for the abolition of courts-martial, since we are against militarism.

*Plekhanov* explained that the introduction of the militia system did not entail abolition of courts-martial, as could be seen from the example of Switzerland.

*Makhov*: Election of judges is not enough. We need to define the actual nature of the courts. From the example of England we know that even elected judges may be bourgeois.

*Lyadov* was against any special points being added after adoption of the point about the election of judges.

*Gorin* proposed that the words 'by the people' be deleted from the commission's version.

*Koltsov* proposed that the words 'and juries' be added to this version.

*The congress voted. Brouckère's proposal was taken in four parts: (a) was rejected by 24 to 17; (b) was rejected by the majority, with 1 vote in favour; (c) was rejected by the majority with 10 votes in favour [a delegate shouted: 'And what about Nicholas II?']; (d) was rejected by the majority, with 1 vote in favour. Gorin's amendment was rejected by the majority, with 5 votes in favour, and Koltsov's likewise, with 10 votes in favour.*

*Article 11 was adopted unanimously in the form prepared by the commission.*

*Lieber (as a personal observation)*: I consider it necessary to make the following statement. The interpretation given to my words by Comrade Martov, and his description of what I said as a 'chauvinist boutade', I can only describe as being itself a demagogic *boutade*, and, moreover, one uttered with the basest motives. [*The chairman checked the speaker, but Martov asked that 'the speaker be allowed freedom of language'.*] I note that my words have caused excitement in our Bureau. Wrongly, it failed to react like that to the insult hurled at me by Comrade Martov. Then, it remained calm. Of course, if Comrade Martov will say he spoke those words only out of irritation, then I will, in turn, withdraw what I have said. But if Comrade Martov says that he used the expression 'a chauvinist *boutade*' quite deliberately, then I

repeat that I cannot describe his conduct in this case otherwise than as a demagogic *boutade*, uttered, moreover, *with the basest motives*.

*Martov (as a personal observation)*: The explanation given by Comrade Lieber regarding his remarks about the German Social-Democrats has not altered the interpretation I put upon those remarks. He called what I said a demagogic *boutade*. I do not altogether understand where the 'people' are, before whom I engaged in this demagogy. Given his attempt to characterise my remark in this way, I cannot withdraw it.<sup>2</sup>

*The session was closed.*

## Eighteenth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*Article 12 of the general-political section of the programme was read. In the Commission's version this corresponded to Article 9 of the old draft (prepared by Iskra and Zarya).*

*Lieber:* We do not have the term 'militia' here. Universal arming of the people and militia are not the same thing. Universal arming of the people may be the normal situation, or it may be proclaimed during wartime, but it is not what prevails in Switzerland. I propose that the words 'universal arming of the people' be replaced by 'militia', with the first-mentioned words given afterwards, in brackets.

*Lenin:* The word 'militia' contributes nothing new, and makes for confusion. The words 'universal arming of the people' are clear, and fully Russian. I regard Comrade Lieber's amendment as unnecessary.

*Lieber's amendment was rejected by a majority, and Article 12 adopted as edited by the commission.*

*Article 13 corresponding to Article 10 of the old draft, was then adopted without discussion.*

*The rapporteur of the commission read Article 14, corresponding to Article 11 of the old draft, and said that the amendments to this which had been submitted to the commission had not been approved by the majority of its members.*

*Lieber:* I propose that the second paragraph of this article be deleted. Textbooks are automatically included in the concept of free, compulsory education, since it is impossible to learn without them.



Besides, it is offensive to divide children into rich and poor, as Posse has correctly shown.<sup>1</sup>

*Lyadov*: I agree with Lieber, but for different reasons. I consider that this going into detail is not in accord with the spirit of our programme.

*Yegorov*: I presented this same amendment to the commission. Delegates have often referred to matters being 'self-evident'. If we introduce universal education in a democratic state, we try to ensure that everyone gets an education. It is not possible to ensure this if the means are lacking. This is self-evident. We are not including, for instance, a point about free legal aid.

*Martov*: I should advise greater care in agreeing with the windbag Posse, otherwise one may easily fall into bad company. For a socialist and revolutionary it cannot be offensive to recognise that rich and poor exist. It is a fact that only has to be slurred over for tearful democrats. The children of poor workers know they are poor, even so. The socialist parties of the West, which have included this point in their programmes, were not afraid of mentioning that there are rich and poor, nor did they regard this as a mere detail. The question of popular education is an especially important one for Social-Democrats. We need to keep these details in the programme, like the details about factory legislation. I merely propose that we make one addition to this point: 'in their mother-tongue'. This will facilitate the work of the commission. The school question brings up again the question of 'equality' of languages, but this is very important. Teaching suffers if the children do not understand the language in which they are being taught at school.

*Plekhanov*: Following Martov, all I want to add is that if it is offensive to mention that there are poor people, then we ought to refrain from introducing income tax. Universal education does not in the least presuppose that textbooks are issued free of charge, as may be seen from the example of Switzerland. This is one of the contradictions inherent in capitalist society. I have lived in Switzerland. Lack of free textbooks causes much humiliation to the poor in that country. As regards food, I can point to the testimony of the Swiss inspector Schuler. He says that the children of poor parents often come to school hungry. I regard the question of education as fundamental; it is a guarantee of the rights of the proletariat.

*Karsky:* After Plekhanov's remarks I have nothing to add, except this, that everything that is implied here is carried out by bourgeois governments. I am opposed to adding the words 'in the mother-tongue'. I consider this addition unnecessary, since it rules out our having a special article on the subject. We should have a separate paragraph on this. Comrade Martov's remark about bad company was out of place.

The *Chairman* asked Comrade Karsky to refrain from expressions of this sort.

*Yegorov:* I am categorically opposed to Martov's addition. It would mean reducing a serious question to a triviality, and there would be difficulty in reconciling Article 7 with this addition. I see here a clearly expressed desire to rally the majority of the congress.

The *Chairman* asked Comrade Yegorov to withdraw his last words.

*Yegorov:* I withdraw them, but I make this point, that everyone introducing an amendment should think carefully.

*Chairman:* That applies generally.

*Martov:* Since Yegorov has been allowed to speak a second time, I too must object that the addition I proposed did not have that significance.

*Trotsky* considered Martov's proposal appropriate and supported it.

*Martov:* In presenting my proposal I carried out the commission's instructions. I thought for a long time how to find a formulation that would satisfy all requirements. I came to the conclusion that for logical reasons one could introduce this point here. It is worded in a clear-cut and well-defined way. I did not expect at all that my concern to satisfy the other side would be interpreted as a political manoeuvre. I put it to Comrade Yegorov that by being excessively suspicious and diplomatic one can make a fool of oneself.

*Goldblatt:* We cannot agree with this amendment. A part of the general section has been taken out and inserted here. Thereby all the rest is annulled. From what Martov and Trotsky said it emerged that the majority must be satisfied regarding 'language' in the school. A proposal such as this tends to break the article up and throw out a large part of what is essential.

*Lenin:* I am against Martov's proposal. It would be more convenient to move amendments to different points after the commission has done its work.

*Rusov:* Yesterday we talked about equality of languages, having in mind not the schools but all local public institutions. To talk about equality of languages in the school is nonsense, since in each school one language must prevail, otherwise it won't be a school but the devil only knows what! A convenient expression of this point would be recognition of the need for teaching in the mother-tongue. As for equality of languages, this must be recognised in all local governmental institutions, that is the population must be given the right to transact business in local government and public institutions in their own languages, along with the state language. For this reason I think Martov's amendment does not rule out the possibility of recognising equality of languages.

*Popov:* Implied in the general formulation is teaching in the mother-tongue not only in the primary school but also in the university. I regret that mere trifles have given rise to such an atmosphere. It is desirable that this should cease.

*Starover* said, in connection with Comrade Goldblatt's statement, that, as a member of the programme commission, he could affirm that Martov's proposal, which had been gone into in the commission, was in no way intended to mean scrapping the question of equality of languages.

*Trotsky* proposed to add this article: 'Teaching to be given in the mother-tongue at the request of the population'.

*A vote being taken, Lieber's proposal ('to delete the second paragraph') was rejected and Trotsky's adopted by 30 to 9. Article 14, as amended by Trotsky, was approved unanimously.*

*The paragraph on abolition of indirect taxes, etc., was then approved.*

*Next, the congress discussed the section of the programme dealing with the protection of labour.*

*The first subject for debate was the introduction and Articles 1 and 2.*

*Lyadov* called for a continuous rest period of 42 hours, as a 36-hour rest-period now existed in many factories.

*Yegorov:* This was rejected in the commission. In some works, by way of exception, there is a six-hour day, but our demand is for an eight-hour day.

*Lieber* remarked that nothing was said in the programme about inspection of the conditions prevailing in small-scale production.

*Yegorov:* In the commission it was said that the programme should be couched in very broad terms, owing to the variety of conditions existing. What is to be done about workshops in which the workers are not wage-workers but members of the family?

*Lenin* was not against the proposal for a 42-hour rest period, but pointed out to *Lieber* that the programme spoke of inspection of all workplaces. If the size of these were to be mentioned that would merely restrict the application. When our programme becomes a bill, that will be the time to insert details.

*Lieber* proposed adding the words: 'regardless of the size of the workplace'.

*Trotsky* proposed that the Sunday rest-period be extended to 42 hours.

*Makhov:* In Nikolayev there is already a 40-hour rest period.

*Tsaryov:* In the engineering works in the South the rest-period is longer than 36 hours.

*Kostrov:* In Batum the rest-period is 37 hours.

*Muravyov* proposed that to Article 2 be added the words: 'in all branches of the economy'.

*The congress voted. The introduction and Article 1 were approved. Lieber's amendment to Article 2 was rejected, and Muravyov's also, and Lyadov's amendment for a 42-hour rest-period was adopted. Article 2, with Lyadov's amendment, was approved as a whole.*

*Approved also were Articles 3 and 4 (with an amendment substituting '6 a.m.' for '5').*

*Article 5 was discussed.*

*Glebov* proposed that the employment of children of school age be banned. This demand was of interest to cultured sections of the population.

*Koltsov* favoured also a ban on exploitation of children by their parents. At the Zurich Congress (1897) the clericals were against interference with work in the home, but the Social-Democrats opposed them, demanding that inspection apply also to this.

*Makhov* supported *Koltsov*, but considered that some parents, too, were employers, and an inspectorate for such families should be set up. It was impossible to ban the nursing of children. The word 'hired' should be deleted.

*Lyadov* and *Tsaryov* called for a six-hour day for adolescents, not a four-hour day, as the latter would increase the power of parents.

*Goldblatt* replied to Comrade *Glebov* that it was impossible to fool the Zemsky Sobor,<sup>2</sup> the Liberals would notice. They would agree provisionally, then, when the time came to lay down concretely what the school age should be, they would restrict it.

*Yegorov*: I am not against Comrade *Glebov*'s proposal, but I don't agree with his reasons. The concept 'school age' shows that the figures are not arbitrary.

*The congress voted. Makhov's amendment (to delete the word 'hired') was adopted. Koltsov's (to delete the words 'employers' and 'hired') was rejected. Popov's (a six-hour working day for adolescents) was adopted. Kostrov's ('complete prohibition of night work for persons of either sex under the age of 18') was rejected. Article 5, as amended, was approved.*

*Article 6 had been altered by the commission, the words 'women recently confined' being replaced by 'women', the words 'two weeks before and four weeks after childbirth' replaced by 'four weeks before and six weeks after childbirth', and this addition made: 'with payment of wages at the usual rate throughout this period'.*

*Article 6, with all these amendments, was approved.*

*A delegate*: The commission decided to insert between Articles 7 and 8 a paragraph about creches for babies and small children, and feeding arrangements for them. I opposed this detail. I think that this point predetermines the compulsory establishment of factory hospitals, and extended employment of female labour, thereby playing into the hands of the manufacturers. Besides, this is a question that needs discussion, and therefore it should be referred to the commission and

held over to a future congress. As a doctor, I consider that infant mortality is not increased by the cessation of breast feeding. This is a disputed question, and some people's thinking about it is affected by a passion for 'naturalness'.

*Lieber* considered that hygienic conditions would not be observed in creches established in connection with factories. In Switzerland, for instance, creches were set up in specially hygienic conditions. I propose that this point be deleted.

*Another delegate:* I explained to the commission the reasons which led me to propose the point which we are now discussing. Here I will reply to the objections which comrades have made. They amount to this. First, it is said that this is a detail. I emphatically disagree. What is involved is a whole numerous stratum of the proletariat, all children in babyhood and infancy. Our programme, which sets out in such detail all our demands in the interests of protecting adult and adolescent workers, completely ignores the children of the proletariat of that age and yet it is in that period of their lives that this very numerous stratum of the proletariat is most in need of protection. The dreadfully high rate of infant mortality has long since attracted the attention of scientists, and statistical research undertaken to discover the causes of this mortality has shown that the principal cause is incorrect feeding. A comrade who spoke against my proposal based his objection on the findings of medical science and I am obliged to follow him into the realm of medicine. I declare that the comrade is completely mistaken when he says that it has not yet been proved that the most suitable food for a child is its mother's milk. I declare that this is already a well-established medical fact, and not fetishism in favour of naturalness, as the comrade supposes, but a fact established by statistics and observation and in full conformity with our medical knowledge. The professors have long been teaching, in all schools of medicine, that every mother should breast-feed her child, because a woman's milk is the best nourishment a child can have. The substitutes so generously offered by technology can never replace women's milk. And this is so, even given the pedantic precision which is necessary when artificial feeding is resorted to, and which, of course, can be observed only in comparatively well-to-do homes, but not in those of proletarians. The professors forgot, in their lectures, about those women whom poverty takes away from their families, tears from their children, and drives into factory work. If the professors have forgotten them, the workers'

party ought not to forget them. And this is all the more important because the demand for female labour in production increases every year: every year a larger number of women are thrust into the factories and a larger number of children are deprived thereby of their natural food. I regard it as necessary, therefore, that in our programme a place be found for the following demand: *that no mother be deprived of the possibility of breast-feeding her child*. On these grounds I propose that the conditions of work of women who are breast-feeding their children be subjected to regulation.

Comrade Lieber said that, in stipulating in my draft that 'creches be established in connection with factories' I was placing creches in unhygienic locations, since, he says, it is well-known that good hygienic conditions do not obtain in factories. But when I said 'in connection with factories' I did not have in mind a topographical definition, I meant that, wherever women are employed, the measures indicated should be taken. The actual place where a creche is to be established should, of course, be chosen so as to meet the requirements of hygiene.

This is why I continue to urge that the point I have proposed be included in the programme.

*Lyadov* confirmed the correctness of what the previous speaker said about infant mortality. But, in view of the fact that the question had not been sufficiently worked out, he proposed that it be referred to the commission and held over to a future congress.

*Brouckère*: It is a well known fact that creches reduce mortality.

*Yegorov*: I propose that the question of creches be left for the next congress to decide.

*The first proposal was rejected. The point about creches was adopted and included in the programme as Article 7.*

*Articles 7 and 9 of the Iskra-Zarya draft had been merged into one by the commission (see Article 8 of the programme).*

*Posadovsky*: Both in the earlier draft and in this version it seems to me that the whole of this seventh point is ill-conceived and quite fails to correspond to the attitude our Party ought to take up regarding the responsibility of employers for accidents to workers and workers' disablement, partial or complete. Above all, there is no mention here of the principle of criminal responsibility on the part of an employer

for a worker's disablement. The worker suffers not only as a producer of value but also as an individual, and his life and health ought to be safeguarded. Point 14 of the draft, providing for criminal responsibility of the employer in cases of failure to observe the laws for the protection of labour, seems to me to quite fail to embrace all those other cases not foreseen by the law, and where an employer has not taken safety precautions, although he could have done, he ought to be subject to criminal responsibility. As regards the question: 'when is the employer liable to civil responsibility?' the draft and the commission's formulation provide an incorrect and, in any case, imprecise answer. I think that it is beyond doubt that the employer should *always* bear civil responsibility. What does it matter to the workers whether his employer is guilty or not? The given enterprise ought to pay for all injury caused in the process of production. In only one instance is the employer to be free of civil responsibility, namely, if a worker *consciously and deliberately* causes injury to himself. Then it is for society as a whole to take responsibility.

If we take these two principles as our basis and determine by proceeding from them our attitude to the question at issue, we shall divide all cases of loss of ability to work into three categories:

1. The worker loses ability to work, his employer not having taken all the safety precautions he could have taken (and not only those laid down by law). In this case the employer bears both criminal and civil responsibility.
2. The worker loses ability to work, his employer having taken all possible safety precautions. The employer is free of criminal responsibility but bears civil responsibility.
3. The worker consciously and deliberately injures himself. The employer is free from all responsibility, criminal or civil. But the worker receives a pension from the state.

Taking all the foregoing into consideration, and assuming as an indispensable condition that the *onus probandi* must always rest on the employer, I move that the accompanying draft be included in this point of the programme.

*Yegorov:* I am opposed to Posadovsky's proposal. In the first place, criminal responsibility is a requirement in the most backward of legal systems, including the Russian: if a worker falls off the scaffolding, his boss prosecutes the architect. Secondly, I consider that detailed treatment of this question is not required. I think the problem does



not result from the will of the employer, and it is impossible to bring in individual responsibility: the capitalists as a whole should pay. Every time an accident occurred, the victim would have to submit a complaint, which would be very burdensome. The matter should be settled by means of a general fund and inspectorate. The question needs to be treated less subjectively: the injured workers must be compensated, whether the capitalist is guilty or not, and the whole capitalist class must be answerable. An enterprise in which work is carried on under dangerous conditions should have a heavy tax imposed on it.

*Martov*: There is no point in combining civil and criminal responsibility, although the latter frightens the factory-owners and obliges them to make concessions. Factories have directors 'for unpleasantnesses', whose special function it is to go to prison. Consequently, criminal responsibility produces no results. Therefore, I am in favour of state insurance.

*Gorin* advocated personal responsibility, for the same reasons as had already been given.

*Lyadov*: I am not for personal responsibility. The boss goes bankrupt and the workers lose their life pensions. Therefore, I favour a general tax on factory-owners.

*Lvov*: I am for state insurance and I propose that we add: 'compulsory application of all technical improvements which safeguard workers against accidents (especially in mines).'

*Orlov*: I am for criminal responsibility. It provides a stimulus to the development of technical means of protecting workers. A fine is soon paid — it is cheaper than installing an expensive machine.

*Yegorov* proposed to add: 'by means of a special tax on the employer, increasing progressively in proportion to the dangerousness of the given enterprise'.

*Martynov* proposed that after the word 'dangerousness' in Comrade Yegorov's amendment the word 'disorderliness' be added.

*Posadovsky* proposed that the whole paragraph be formulated as follows:

'Establishment of a law on civil and criminal responsibility of employers for partial or complete loss of ability to work resulting from accidents or harmful working conditions.'

*Note: 'The employer to be freed from criminal responsibility only if it be proved that he could not have foreseen the worker's loss of ability to work. The employer to be freed from civil responsibility only if it be proved that the worker deliberately caused injury to himself, causing his loss of ability to work.'*

*When votes were taken, Posadovsky's proposal and all the amendments were rejected. Article 8 as edited by the commission was adopted as a whole.*

*Article 9, coinciding with paragraph 8 of the old draft, was adopted with the following amendments: after the word 'payment' the words 'in cash' to be added, and before the word 'agreement', the words 'without exception' to be added.*

*Comrade Lyadov's proposal that Article 15 of the previous draft be placed after Article 9 was adopted.*

*Article 15 (now 10) was adopted.*

*Then Article 11 (partially coinciding with the old Article 10) was adopted.*

*The session was closed.*

## Nineteenth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*When the session began, Article 11 of the draft programme (the Iskra-Zarya draft) was read, i.e., Article 12 of the programme as adopted.*

Lyadov proposed that the following three points be inserted:

1. Establishment of an agrarian inspectorate to check on all agricultural enterprises in which wage-workers were employed.

2. Points 1-13 to be applicable to all agricultural enterprises employing hired labour.

3. Tenants leasing land as sharecroppers or on condition that they work the landlord's land to be regarded as wage-workers and, as such, brought within the competence of the agrarian inspectorate.

I think these points need to be inserted. Although agricultural enterprises ought, as has been said, to be brought under the factory inspectorate, this needs emphasising. Furthermore, I think it is necessary to set up a special agrarian inspectorate. This third point shows that we regard tenant-farmers as proletarians. Our agrarian programme as a whole does not relate to the proletariat, but in this point we single out the proletarians.

*Lenin:* I am against Comrade Lyadov's amendment. His first two points are superfluous since in our programme we call for protection of labour in *all* branches of the economy, and so in agriculture as well. As for the third, this entirely relates to the agrarian section, and we shall deal with it when we discuss the draft of our agrarian programme.

*Chairman:* At Lyadov's request we shall vote on his amendment point by point.

*The two first points were rejected by all against one, and Lyadov withdrew the third. Article 12 was then voted on as a whole, and adopted unanimously.*

*Article 13 was read.*

**Gusev:** It is not clear whether the health inspectorate is to be set up at the expense of the employers or whether this applies only to medical aid. I propose that the word 'and' after 'labour' be deleted, and replaced by a semi-colon.

*The amendment was voted on and adopted by 18 to 3.*

**Makhov:** The thing is that, however strange this may be in present circumstances, when free medical aid is adopted in the factories, the workers will remain on the payroll throughout their illness. In the programme of our demands we say nothing about this, and yet the point cannot be overlooked.

**Yegorov:** There is nothing to be said against such an amendment, except that the period during which the worker must go on being paid should be laid down. He might be ill for ten years.

**Posadovsky** moved an amendment, to add to this point: 'the entire medico-sanitary organisation to be wholly independent of the employers'.

*Makhov's amendment ('with continuance of pay during illness') was passed by 20 to 3.*

**Makhov:** I support Posadovsky's amendment, since if the medical personnel are dependent on the employers it can lead to many abuses.

*Posadovsky's amendment was voted on and adopted by 25 to 4.*

*Article 13 was voted on as a whole and adopted unanimously.*

*Article 14 was read.*

**Makhov:** Criminal responsibility of employers is laid down in all bodies of law. What we need to put in paragraph 14 is not that, but the right of every person to prosecute an employer for breaking the law for the protection of labour.

**Kostich:** I regard the amendment as unnecessary. At present the employers are subject to no responsibility.

**Makhov** withdrew his amendment.

*Article 14, as a whole, was voted on and adopted unanimously.*

*Article 15 was read.*

*Lieber:* What is meant by 'industrial tribunals'? Are they composed according to branches of labour?

*Lenin:* Yes, of course.

*Article 15 as a whole was read and adopted unanimously.*

*Article 16 was read.*

*Kostrov:* Labour exchanges are of great importance for the workers and should therefore consist exclusively of workers.

*Lieber:* I propose an amendment: 'employment agencies in all branches of production to be administered by representatives of workers' organisations'.

*Martov:* I want to say a few words in explanation of why this version was adopted. We wanted to provide for the setting up of such labour exchanges for agricultural workers as well. Since the latter are a more backward element, and nomadic into the bargain, it was not possible to propose that they should manage the labour exchanges, and so we adopted this form of words. I hope that we shall on every occasion fight for more active participation by the workers in the labour exchanges.

*Yegorov:* I agree with that observation. After all, a labour exchange is an employment agency, the responsibility of whose members is to put people in touch with each other. No law can assign this responsibility to particular workers' organisations.

*Plekhanov:* I think Comrade Yegorov has not understood Comrade Lieber. One cannot object to this amendment from the standpoint of its feasibility. In Switzerland, for instance, the labour exchanges are already run by the workers. Martov, rather, has the right idea.

*Makhov:* When centres for the hiring of agricultural labourers are organised, the rule is to give the latter something to eat. The unemployed are included, despite the protests of the Zemstvo members. But we, in our programme, have forgotten the unemployed.

*Muravyov:* I therefore propose this amendment: 'Establishment of medical and feeding centres in places where temporary (seasonal) concentrations of workers occur.'

*Lieber's amendment – after the word 'production' to insert: 'Under the*

administration of workers' organisations' – *was voted on, and rejected by 19 to 10.*

*Muravyov's amendment was voted on and rejected by all against one. Kostrov's amendment – 'and labour exchanges for industrial workers to be wholly managed by the latter' – was voted on and rejected by a majority, with one vote for.*

*Article 16 was voted on and adopted by a majority.*

*The introductory part of the agrarian programme was read.*

*Lieber:* We thought there would be a report.

*Lenin:* It must be said that we have not produced a report. The commission proved unable to cope with this question.

*In answer to a question from Yegorov the chairman said that in discussing the agrarian programme they would revert to the general procedure for debate, that is, the standing orders adopted at the beginning of the congress.*

*Lenin:* I propose an amendment: instead of 'will aim at', we should say 'demands first and foremost'.

*Yegorov:* I don't know how we can debate these five lines. The question of our agrarian programme has not been clarified. I propose that we at least read the whole programme through and then have a general debate. These five lines show what the author's idea is, but how they are connected with the programme as a whole remains unexplained.

*This proposal was voted on and adopted.*

*The agrarian programme was read.*

*Martynov:* Underlying the agrarian programme which has been presented to us is a perfectly sound principle. We are on the eve of a revolution which must finally liquidate the obsolete system of social estates and serfdom and give place to a bourgeois-democratic system. This revolution can and must settle accounts in revolutionary fashion — that is, without considering historically acquired rights — with all the relations that have arisen on the basis of the old order. This revolution will not touch the foundations of the new order, the time for liquidating which has not yet come. The present revolution is, essentially, the historical task of the bourgeoisie. But the party of the proletariat has to take upon itself also the fulfilment of those revolutionary tasks which the bourgeoisie ought to have performed but did not. This is the fundamental principle of our programme. But

it is not hard to discover that certain essential points in this programme do not proceed at all from that principle.

I have in mind two points: the return to the peasants of the redemption payments taken from them since 1861 and the return to the peasants of the lands which were cut off from their holdings in 1861. It seems to me that these two points have the purpose not of abolishing those semi-serf relations which have survived into our day, but merely to redress an historical injustice. This is obvious where the first point is concerned. But it is also true of the second point. First, it has not been established that at the time of the emancipation of the peasants those lands were cut off mainly so as to preserve relations of bondage. Secondly, in the period that has elapsed, the countryside has undergone a profound economic evolution. Many of the 'cut-off lands' which once had that significance have now lost it: on the other hand, many lands which were not cut off have since then acquired significance as means of enserfment. Finally, present-day bondage relations between tenants and landowners do not belong to the old 'estates' setting of opposition between peasant and noble landlord. Therefore, return of the cut-off lands will not achieve the purpose which the compilers of the programme set themselves, and the purpose which these measures actually will achieve is not one that we can set ourselves. We cannot arbitrarily demand the redressment of this particular historical injustice if we thereby indirectly, so to speak, sanctify other historical injustices. We cannot demand that the peasants should have restored to them precisely those lands which they were cultivating in 1861, because we do not recognise in principle the landlords' right to those lands which they had seized before 1861. If we now bring forward the demand that all land be nationalised, we are guided in this by considerations that have nothing to do with the question of rights. If we want to apply consistently the principle which is embodied in the programme, we must define those lands and their appendages which serve the big landowners today as means of keeping the surrounding population in semi-serflike dependence and expropriate them regardless of when or how these lands become theirs.

*Gorin:* The fourth article of the agrarian programme is defended by the consideration that free small-scale ownership means a social revolution as compared with the semi-serflike leasing of the cut-off lands. But free small-scale tenancy is not inferior, in this connection,

to free small-scale ownership. This free leasing of the cut-off lands can be organised, instead of the small-scale ownership which is proposed, either through a land-survey or through standardisation of tenancy. This standardisation should be (1) qualitative, in the sense of replacement of rent in kind (in labour and produce) by money rent, and (2) quantitative, in the sense of fixing the amount of money to be paid. But the free small-scale tenancy of the cut-off lands established in this way also has an advantage over free small-scale ownership, an economic advantage, in that small-scale tenancy, being, so far as the technical means of production are concerned (i.e., all the means of production apart from the land) also small-scale ownership, is an economic form which is closer to the proletarian form, since here part of the property, namely, the land, has already been expropriated. Furthermore the small tenant is less attached to the land and therefore can sooner be freed from rural idiocy. Finally, given that a section of the peasantry are in a semi-proletarian position and can take up the standpoint of the proletariat, hope of getting back the cut-off lands perforce strengthens the anti-proletarian ideology in the atmosphere. It must also be mentioned that, essentially, return of the cut-off lands changes nothing in the matter of abolishing semi-serfdom relations. Semi-serfdom relations on the basis of the cut-off lands are created through the extreme over-population of the countryside, which the backward state of production cannot absorb. But this same backwardness of production will, even after the cut-off lands have been restored, compel, as a result of the inevitable parcellisation of the land, the ploughing-up of these cut-off lands, so depriving them of their specific function as auxiliary lands. The peasants will again be obliged to ask the neighbouring landowners for auxiliary lands and will again fall into semi-serfdom. It can rightly be said that the present moment is too exceptional, as a moment when we stand on the brink of a revolution. At this moment we cannot refrain from staking everything on a small thing since thereby great possibilities are created for giving the revolution an amplitude that will put it in a level with the Great French Revolution — this is an idea of Comrade Akselrod's which he expressed to me in private conversation. Having acknowledged this, of course, we shall not proceed quantitatively beyond the point at which quantity becomes quality, and after which we could be reproached for engaging in professional demagoguery in the style of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. But this being so, we must recognise that the fourth point has purely agitational significance.



*Akselrod:* I must remind Comrade Gorin that those words of mine to which he referred apply to the programme as a whole. I added that we must have in mind the agitational significance of the cut-off lands for hastening the process and sharpening the relations which bring us nearer to the ultimate upheaval.

*Yegorov:* Our discussion is made considerably more difficult through the absence of a preliminary report. The Social-Democratic programme as a whole is not new to us, but the agrarian part of this programme has been less clarified than any other. True, it has been discussed in our publications, but even so it would have been desirable to have it briefly summed up and justified. The significance of this programme is not clear to me. Is it a programme for ourselves, that is, does it define our demands, or do we want to make it popular? The agrarian question is one of the most essential questions. The impending revolution in Russia, so far as the peasantry are concerned, if not completely analogous to the Great French Revolution, has much in common with it. The peasant question will be settled first, and the peasantry will take part in settling it. The peasants will, of course, put forward a number of demands, which will be satisfied to some extent. Therefore the Social-Democrats will, perhaps, make clear in their programme, first and foremost, what the economic process can give to the peasantry when the revolution comes. It may be that this was what the authors of the programme had in mind. And I agree with them that this is extremely important. But if what they intended was to draw the peasants into the work of liquidation, to sound a slogan of action for them, then in that case their programme is insolvent, for in this matter the Socialist-Revolutionaries will break the record sooner than we can, by advancing the slogan of dividing up the land, which will be a much more stirring slogan than the cut-off lands can provide. Passing to points of detail, I would ask whether it has even been proved statistically that the peasants live worse where there are cut-off lands, whether it can be said with conviction that the poverty of the peasants in a given locality is due to the cut-off lands? Can it be proved that the situation is worse where the cut-off lands are larger?

*Lieber:* I would like to make the same points as Comrade Yegorov. It is, of course, a great deal easier to say what should not be in the programme than to say what should be in it. But I would like to mention a general feature that distinguishes the agrarian part of our programme from the rest, namely, the meagreness of the demands

made. Whereas in the other parts of the programme we put forward our maximum demands, here only one demand is presented, namely, the need to eliminate the survivals of feudal relations. But if life in Russia has taken such a course that a number of survivals of serfdom have been preserved there within the bourgeois order, our programme ought to include not only a negative attitude to these survivals but also a positive part, namely, radical reforms for the peasantry or for certain elements among them.

Moreover, is it enough that there should be one agrarian programme for the *whole* of the RSDLP? When we were talking about our maximum demands it was understood that these concerned the entire proletariat. But when we come to the minimum demands of our agrarian programme we have to pay attention to the special conditions of work in particular localities. Agrarian relations in Poland, for example, have been shaped in different historical circumstances from those of Russia. Certain points in the Party's agrarian programme may prove not to fit conditions in certain parts of Russia. For an example, one may point to the PPS, which, despite the absence, where the Polish peasantry are concerned, of such survivals of serfdom as might unite all strata of the peasantry for struggle against them, and despite the fact that differentiation has proceeded very far among those peasants, nevertheless, in their agitation among the peasantry (as we see from their organ *Gazeta Ludowa*) always address themselves to the peasantry as a whole, and not to the rural proletariat alone. Therefore, what may prove to be entirely correct and suitable for the Russian Social-Democrats is found to be harmful and not in accordance with the class standpoint in the programme of the PPS, against which we have to fight, just as we combat the programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Consequently, our agrarian programme must either be common to all Russia, in which case it must put forward only general propositions, or else this programme will concretise the latter, in which case it will be a programme only for the Russian Social-Democrats. In the second eventuality we must, therefore, allow the Party's different national and regional groups to put forward their own programmes. It needs to be mentioned, incidentally, that our programme does not contain a single point which is included in the programme of the West-European parties. It would be more appropriate, I think, to indicate the basic principles with which we approach the peasants, and, as regards concrete measures, to complete our programme as the various questions become clarified.

*Trotsky:* Our agrarian programme differs qualitatively from our general programme, said Comrade Yegorov. Of course it does. And this difference is formulated in those very five lines, or even not five but only three lines, of the section which deals with principles, to which Comrade Yegorov referred so ironically. 'In order to *eliminate the survivals of serfdom* which are a heavy burden upon the peasants, and in the interests of *free development of the class struggle in the countryside*, the Party will aim at . . . ' Our *general* minimum programme represents the maximum that we can demand of the capitalist order. Our *agrarian* programme calls for clearing feudal hindrances from the path of this capitalist order *as a whole*. And this is the answer to Comrade Lieber, when he expresses surprise at the 'meagreness' of the demands of our agrarian programme. With what are we approaching the peasantry? asks Comrade Lieber. Why do we confine ourselves to an agrarian programme directed *only* against the survivals of serfdom? Why do we not draw up, as well, an agrarian programme adapted to the capitalist system in general? But it remains for us to ask whether the Social-Democrats need such a programme. Perhaps Comrade Lieber deems that that field of agrarian relations is an economic ghetto, or an economic Arcadia, whichever you prefer, for which the laws of capitalist evolution were not written. We do not agree. And for that reason we do not need a general agrarian programme. But we approach the peasantry not only with our 'meagre' agrarian programme, which pursues a *special* aim, but also with the *whole* of our Social-Democratic programme, principles and minimum demands included. We are not capable of fabricating a special 'agrarian socialism', in the sense of co-operatives and so on. That we leave to the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

But does our 'meagre' programme possess universal significance? Can it be proved, asks Comrade Yegorov, that the situation of the peasants is always worse where there are cut-off lands? I grant that we cannot. But what does that mean? We cannot prove that the situation of the proletariat is always and everywhere worse *when wages are paid in kind*. But that does not prevent us from demanding that this form of payment be prohibited, even though it has been preserved in only one-tenth of the country.

Here I disagree with Comrade Lieber when he says that since what we are discussing is our common programme, we do not need to work out demands applicable to particular localities and nations. The agrarian programme speaks of the elimination of 'survivals of serfdom

in the Urals, in the Altai, in the Western Territory and in other parts of the country'. But Comrade Lieber does not grasp the difference between the levelling character of capitalist evolution (which is what our general programme is concerned with) and the detailed character of the feudal survivals, which are distinguished by their extreme diversity, consolidated in legal forms (which is what the agrarian part of our programme is concerned with). We have to reckon with this diversity. If serfdom had been preserved in Tver province alone we would have to put forward the demand: 'Abolition of serfdom in Tver province.' If in Poland, as Comrade Lieber observed, such survivals are not to be found as exist in the Altai, that does not create any difficulties for us in agitating among the Polish peasantry. We approach the Polish peasants with the general-democratic part of our programme, we approach the rural poor with our propaganda for socialism. We shall 'proletarianise' them politically before they are proletarianised economically.

*Lenin:* I shall mention first a detail that came up in the debate. Comrade Yegorov expressed regret that there had been no report which might have considerably facilitated and guided our whole discussion. Since it was I who was suggested as rapporteur, I shall have, as it were, to defend myself for the absence of a report. And I shall say in my defence that I have a report; it is my reply to Comrade X,<sup>1</sup> which replies, in fact, to the most widespread of the objections and misunderstandings aroused by our agrarian programme, and which has been distributed to all the congress delegates. A report is no less a report for having been printed and distributed to the delegates instead of being read to them.

I now pass to what was said in the speeches of those who, unfortunately, have paid no attention to this report of mine. Comrade Martynov, for example, failed even to take account of earlier writings about our agrarian programme, when he spoke repeatedly about redressing an historical injustice, about an unfounded reversion to forty years ago, about destroying not the feudalism of today but that which existed in the sixties, and so on. In replying to these arguments I shall be obliged to repeat myself. If we had indeed based ourselves *only* on the principle of 'redressing an historical injustice', we should have been guided by democratic phrasemongering alone. But we refer to the survivals of the serfowning system which *exist* around us, to present-day reality, to what is today hampering and holding back the

proletariat's struggle for liberation. We are accused of reverting to the hoary past. This charge merely reveals ignorance regarding the most generally known facts about the activity of the Social-Democrats in all countries. Everywhere they set themselves the aim, and work for it, to *finish what the bourgeoisie has left unfinished*. That is just what we are doing. And in order to do it we are obliged to revert to the past and that is what the Social-Democrats do in every country, where they are always reverting to *their* 1789, to *their* 1848. Similarly, the Russian Social-Democrats *cannot but revert* to *their* 1861, and they do this all the more vigorously and frequently because our so-called peasant 'reform' has brought about so little in the way of democratic changes.

As to Comrade Gorin, he too commits the common error of forgetting the serf bondage that actually exists. Comrade Gorin says that 'hope of getting back the cut-off lands perforce keeps the small peasant bound to an anti-proletarian ideology'. In fact, however, it is not 'hope' that he will get the cut-off lands but the *present* cut-off lands themselves that perforce maintain serf bondage, and there is no escape from this bondage, from this serf-type tenancy of land, except by transforming the pseudo-tenants into free proprietors.

Lastly, Comrade Yegorov asked the authors of the programme a question about its significance. Is the programme, he asked, a conclusion drawn from our basic conceptions about the economic evolution of Russia, a scientific anticipation of the possible and inevitable result of political changes (in which case Comrade Yegorov might agree with us)? Or is our programme, in practice, an agitational slogan? In that case, we could not outdo the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the programme must be regarded as mistaken. I must say that I do not understand the distinction drawn by Comrade Yegorov. If our programme did not meet the first condition, it would be wrong and we could not accept it. If, however, the programme is correct, it cannot but furnish in practice a suitable slogan for agitation. The contradiction between Comrade Yegorov's alternatives is only apparent: it cannot exist in reality, because a correct theoretical decision *guarantees* enduring success in agitation. And it is for enduring success that we are striving, and we are not at all disconcerted by temporary setbacks.

Comrade Lieber likewise repeated long-refuted objections, expressing astonishment at the 'meagreness' of our programme and calling for 'radical reforms' in the agrarian sphere as well. Comrade Lieber has forgotten the difference between the democratic and the socialist

parts of the programme. What he has taken for 'meagreness' is the absence of anything socialistic in the democratic programme. He has not noticed that the socialist part of our agrarian programme is to be found elsewhere, namely, in the section on the workers, which also applies to agriculture. Only the Socialist-Revolutionaries, with their characteristic lack of principle, are capable of confusing, and constantly do confuse, democratic and socialist demands. The Party of the proletariat, however, is in duty bound to separate and distinguish between them in the strictest fashion.

*Gorin:* Comrade Lenin has not answered me. I was not arguing about the substance of the matter, I merely said that Article 4 does not deliver us from serfdom relations in the best possible way. My system is better. Since nobody has objected to it I consider that I have not been refuted. What I say is this: while recognising that the cut-off lands are a cause of semi-serfdom relations, I do not think that restoration of these cut-off lands will put an end to those relations. I consider that abolition of the corvée system, payments in kind, and so on, will serve better to bring about the ending of serfdom relations. If the cut-off lands are returned to the peasants those relations will soon return, because shortage of land will compel the peasants to resort to leasing land from the nobles. Under my system there are only free tenants, leasing land otherwise than on serfdom principles. Consequently, I propose a situation under which a part of the peasantry would be owners only of the technical means of production, and therefore more highly proletarianised. Besides, as is known, land binds the peasant more closely than anything else. With my system that won't happen. I would transform serfdom tenancy into bourgeois tenancy.

*Martynov:* Comrade Lenin, in his answer to me, was knocking at an open door. 'The proletariat has to finish what the bourgeoisie has left unfinished', he says. I subscribe to that with both hands. But how is that proposition to be understood? Does it mean that if the bourgeoisie had not executed Louis XVI, then when Louis XVIII was on the throne we should have had to execute not the actual representative of the monarchy but the previous one, who was already dead? I think not. If the bourgeoisie in its time did not abolish feudalism, or did not abolish it completely, then we are now obliged to abolish feudalism, but feudalism in the form in which it exists now, and not in the form in which it existed forty years ago. But Comrade Lenin

replies that 'the lands which were cut off in 1861 still serve as a source of bondage; statistics show that there is complete correlation between the distribution of cut-off lands and the distribution of bondage relations'. I affirm that not only is there no such complete correlation, but there cannot be. Even at the time of the emancipation of the peasants, the Government and the landlords, when they cut off these lands, were not motivated by a desire to preserve serfdom relations. Statistics show that, as a general rule, the purpose of the cutting-off of these lands was different. Where craft occupations were plentiful and the land was poor, redemption payments were very much higher, but cut-off lands were insignificant. Where there were few craft occupations and the land was good, the level of redemption payments was relatively lower, and the percentage of cut-off lands was relatively higher. Thus, there may be a correlation not between the distribution of cut-off lands and that of bondage tenancy, but between the distribution of cut-off lands and the profitability of the land. And, in fact, in the South, in New Russia, it is not bondage agriculture but capitalist agriculture that prevails, although it was there that the relatively largest percentage of land was taken from the peasants, 'cut off' by the landlords.

Consequently, the measure proposed to us by the compilers of the programme does not correspond at all to that correct general principle which is set forth in this programme, calling upon us to carry out a revolutionary abolition of all surviving serfdom relations. The measure proposed is meagre, but not at all because it will give little to the peasants. We cannot be guided by the criterion of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, for whom those measures are most revolutionary which promise to be the most peasant. This measure is meagre because it actually proceeds not from a revolutionary principle but from a meagre one, from concern to redress only one historical injustice.

*Yegorov:* As regards the theoretical part of the programme, the answers given by Trotsky and Lenin have satisfied me. I quite agree that there are not two economic processes. Turning to Lieber, I do not understand why he brings his special point of view into everything. Russia is a single economic entity, and so demands affecting one section of the peasants affect all Russia. But I have not been answered on the main question. In our propaganda among the peasantry, how can we compete with the Socialist-Revolutionaries? Comrade Trotsky

said that we say to classes which have outlived themselves, either come over to us or we can do nothing for you. He is right of course: but does he really think that such a phrase as that can serve as an appeal? No! We cannot do much among the peasants. This means that our slogan cannot compete with the slogan of the adventurers. You won't get the agricultural labourer to fight alongside the rich peasant for the cut-off lands which are already to no small extent in the possession of that rich peasant.

*Kostrov:* I fully agree with the fundamental parts of the draft agrarian programme. We certainly need to abolish all survivals of serfdom, whatever forms these may assume. So I am not going to argue about that. But the point is that peasant life has thrown up problems which are bound up not only with the old order but with the new one as well. In our part of the country,<sup>2</sup> the peasant movement has begun not where there are important survivals of serfdom, but where these are very slight — in Guria, for instance. Clearly, this results not from the old way of life only, but also from the new. These are modernised peasants, so to speak, who stand at the head of the peasantry and urge them on to a new path. Consequently, to tell them that the revolution must confine itself merely to eliminating survivals means to tell them nothing. They want more than that, and probably when the revolution comes they will seize the land. How shall we react in that case? In one of two ways: either we shall have to put them down, or else we shall say, 'it's no concern of ours'. In the first case we shall play the role of reactionaries, and in the second that of mere observers, and the revolution will be carried out independently of us. This is what we need to keep in mind when we discuss our agrarian programme. Comrade Lenin said in his printed report: 'we would be abandoning the class standpoint of the proletariat if we allowed our programme to state that "the peasantry" (i.e., the rich plus the poor) will go together beyond the eradication of the remnants of serfdom.' Good. But the fact that this is not in the programme does not mean that it is not found in practice. I say: if the peasantry do actually go 'beyond', what are we going to do? Comrade Yegorov said that we shall probably not have any success with the peasantry and that the latter will be headed by various adventurers. I protest strongly against that. We ought to stand at the head of the peasant movement and lead it beneath the banner of the proletariat, not leave it to the will of fate. In short, our agrarian programme should express demands both



negative and affirmative: elimination of the survivals of the old order and introduction of the new, socialist order — those are the principles from which we should proceed when we work among the peasants.

*Plekhanov:* In my ten minutes I cannot, of course, reply to everything that has been said here. I will answer Comrade Martynov first. This speech was very witty. He brought a pleasant animation into our debates by asking us how we would have dealt with Louis XVI if the bourgeoisie had not disposed of him. I quite agree that if the bourgeoisie had not beheaded Louis XVI then we should have had to do that, a bit later. But let us make a different supposition. Louis XVI survives. On the throne in our country sit two Louis, XVI and XVIII — one an up-to-date representative of the constitutional regime, the other a representative of the feudal order, a ghost from the past. What should we do in that case? I think that we should first dispose of the legacy from the old order, Louis XVI, and then proceed undeviatingly to fight against Louis XVIII. This is how we have proceeded in our programme, seeking to bring our society up to date. Look at Prussia, Austria, Hungary. In each of those countries they had in 1848 to dispose of the historical injustices towards the peasantry which had not been eliminated by previous reforms. This was a purely practical question. On the shoulders of our peasantry lies a yoke which chafes its shoulders and must be smashed. And we want to smash it. Comrade Martynov says that the cut-off lands do not bear the same significance everywhere, since in some places the landlords put the emphasis particularly on redemption payments. But here we are shod on both feet, for we call for return both of the cut-off lands and of the redemption-payments.

In so far as bondage relations result from the present state of affairs, the means of combating them are shown in another part of the programme. Finally, we are told that our demands are meagre. This recalls the objection made to us by the Anarchists, who say that demands such as, for example, the demand for a shorter working day, are too meagre. According to them, one should start by socialising the means of production. But that, of course, is merely absurd. When we are rebuked for allegedly being against making the land public property, those who rebuke us forget that our ultimate aim is precisely to make all the means of production public property, but that on the way to that ultimate aim we shall strive for a number of partial reforms. The call for the return of the cut-off lands belongs to the category of

our partial demands. But there is something special about it. It aims at modernising our society. Only such demands as that are included in our agrarian programme. When what is involved is present-day bourgeois society we take Kautsky's view and do not regard it as necessary to work out a special agrarian programme. We are remote from opportunism *à la* David.<sup>3</sup>

I turn to Comrade Lieber's objection. Certainly, all those component sections of the RSDLP which have to work in special conditions have the right to put forward demands inspired by those conditions. But we, the compilers of the programme, must criticise these demands from the standpoint of the principles of scientific socialism, and either adopt them or decline to adopt them, depending on whether or not they correspond to these principles.

*Lieber:* I want to begin by saying that I was not so happy as Comrade Yegorov, to whom Lenin and Trotsky made everything clear. But what Plekhanov has just said has answered me on at least one point, and this answer satisfies me completely. I have, of course, always considered that every demand in the programme of a particular national organisation must be subject to criticism and rejected if it does not fulfil the requirements of scientific socialism. Now I will reply to certain objections that have been made to what I said. First, regarding the example so unhappily quoted by Martynov and still more unhappily utilised by Plekhanov. We must not forget that in this example we are dealing with Louis XVIII, who has inherited something from Louis XVI, and it is hard to imagine the affair going so easily that it would suffice to remove Daddy while Sonny calmly continued to reign. It would be all right to argue in this way if the system could be personified. But I think that we cannot simply extract the survivals of feudalism from the capitalist system, like an aching tooth from a jaw, on the assumption that everything left will remain unchanged. No, it is all bound up together, by thousands of threads. You have forgotten that your cut-off lands may fall into the hands of the rich peasants. Along with those survivals which really are only hangovers from the feudal order there are also survivals from the pre-Reform period which the capitalist system has managed to adapt to itself. If you lay hands on *these* survivals you will also have to lay hands on the modern capitalist system as well.

While agreeing with Lenin on principles, and declaring that I should like to see this section dealing with principles included in the

programme, I propose that the concrete demands be removed from it. They are either unnecessary or incorrect. Comrade Martynov wants to show us that he is a good lad, understands what constitutes the essence of being revolutionary, and counterposes his conception to mine, which is said to concentrate exclusively on the quantitative aspect. No, I did not call these demands meagre because they give too little, but because they do not respond to a whole series of problems which are raised by *present-day* peasant life. Trotsky made the objection that it would be enough for these survivals to exist in only two of Russia's provinces for us to include in our programme a demand for their elimination. It is not, of course, for me to deny that. But it is especially necessary to recall this to Trotsky, who pulls out different principles like labels, depending on which of them is most convenient. When I referred to a whole series of special features which distinguish the position of the Jewish proletariat, and said that they all need to be taken into consideration, Trotsky gave me precisely the opposite answer. But the point here is not whether we ought to pay any attention to peculiarities which exist, say, in two provinces, but whether these special survivals of serfdom relations existing in certain parts of Russia ought to set their mark on our entire programme. Trotsky solves the problem very simply: since capitalist evolution is going on in agriculture too, it is clear that we do not need any special programme for the peasants. But that is not true. Of course we can and must give one general, principled answer to questions which arise in both branches of the economy. But this does not mean that there are no special problems applying to one or to the other.

I point to the fact that both Kautsky, in his *Agrarfrage*, and Lenin, in his lectures, have shown that though an essentially identical process of capitalisation is going on in industry and agriculture alike, the forms assumed by this process are substantially different.<sup>4</sup> A whole number of demands may be of special concern to the rural proletariat, owing to the special technical conditions in which it works. It is enough to mention that in our workers' programme (as Lenin calls it) there are several such demands, which result from the special technical conditions governing the work of the industrial proletariat, and yet there is not a single demand of that kind in the agrarian programme. I recall that when Comrade Lyadov proposed to include in the workers' programme a number of concrete demands concerning the rural proletariat, Lenin himself replied by proposing that these demands be transferred to the agrarian programme. So there can be no doubt that,

despite the oneness of the process of capitalisation going on in both of these branches of the economy, we still need to have a special agrarian programme, which cannot be reduced merely to elimination of survivals of serfdom.

*Makhov:* I have been listening for a rather long time to the discussion on our agrarian programme, and I observe that the majority of the speakers positively cannot understand what the programme submitted means and what its aims are. Thus, despite the fact that the agrarian programme is preceded by a pretty unambiguous inscription stating: 'this is a lion and not a dog' (otherwise reading: 'in order to eliminate the survivals of serfdom and in the interests of free development of class struggle in the countryside, the Party will strive for . . .'), nobody wants to pay any attention to this label and everybody stubbornly takes the lion for a dog. And one must be fair: the agrarian programme submitted does, as a whole, really need that inscription: 'this is a lion, and not a dog', since otherwise it could hardly be considered a Social-Democratic agrarian programme.

It is not a matter of such demands as abolition of redemption payments and laws restricting the peasants' right to dispose of their land, that is, Articles 1 and 2, to which, of course, nobody has any objection and which are certainly included in order to eliminate survivals of serfdom. But I cannot refrain from directing attention to Article 3: 'return to the people of the sums of money extorted from them in the form of redemption and quit-rent payments,' and so on. What is this? And for what purpose has it been included in the agrarian programme of the RSDLP? In order to eliminate survivals of serfdom or in the interests of free development of class struggle in the countryside? Neither the one nor the other. Returning sums of money to the people, whatever they may be and in whatever form, does not mean eliminating survivals of serfdom; but return in the form proposed does not help free development of class struggle in the countryside, either, since use of such sums to establish a special fund for the cultural and welfare needs of rural communities is, of course, in no way necessary in order that class struggle may develop freely in the countryside. Furthermore, to say nothing of the financial absurdity of setting up a special fund for the cultural and welfare needs of rural communities, I cannot understand why it was necessary to christen this fund 'return to the people of redemption and quit-rent payments'. Was it supposed that the amount extorted from the people in

redemption and quit-rent payments exactly corresponded to the price of the confiscated property? If not, and this is, of course, self-evident, then we must ask why the confiscation of this particular form of property, with this particular aim, should be called return of the redemption and quit-rent payments, with which it has nothing whatever to do? And here I must say that, quite apart from the fact that this smacks somewhat of a game at redressing historical injustices, as has already been pointed out here, the measure proposed also bears the trace of demagogic and adventurism.

And what if the peasants, having grasped the idea of the return of redemption payments, do not want to use the confiscated property in order to set up a special fund, but decide simply to divide it up among themselves? Will the composers of the draft follow the peasants in that event, too? After all, we must reckon with the possibility of such an outcome, and decide what our attitude will be. I know our peasant, the peasant is everywhere the same, he will take for himself everything he can get. And he will never be satisfied with setting up a special fund from the confiscated property, even if it be for raising the cultural level of the countryside. He will say: 'Give us what you think it is just should be returned to us, and raise the cultural level by taking some special measures or other.' The whole programme clearly testifies, and Comrade Lenin's pamphlet confirms this, that they want to treat the peasantry as something homogeneous in composition; but, as the peasantry split up into classes long ago, advancing a single programme must inevitably render the whole programme demagogic and make it adventurist when put into practice.

*Martov:* Comrade Makhov thinks that Article 3 does not relate to any survival of serfdom. But no, as emerges clearly from Comrade Makhov's arguments it does relate to one such survival, namely, the prejudice that 'the *muzhik* is a stupid fellow'. This prejudice was detectable in other speeches, too. They think that the *muzhik* is incapable of understanding political programmes and therefore our definite proposal will unfailingly be misinterpreted by him in the sense of grabbing for himself even the money taken from the nobles. They also think that since we are talking about land, the peasants will unfailingly take this proposal as meaning a redistribution of all land. But a fantastic, semi-mystical notion about a universal levelling is one thing, and a realistic reform proposal is another. They think that the peasants, thirsting for a general redistribution, will not want even to

listen to any talk about the cut-off lands. I do not agree. When the peasants are faced with various political programmes of land reform conceived in the bourgeois spirit, with redemption payments, which offer the peasants the prospect of satisfying their need for land through alliance with the bourgeois parties, then we can be sure that we still need to revolutionise the peasants' consciousness, to bring them up to the level of such a 'meagre' reform as the return of the cut-off lands.

*Gusev:* After a number of speeches devoted to the agrarian programme as a whole, it is a little awkward for me to speak about one partial and small question which was touched on in passing by previous speakers. But however small this question may be, it is extremely important, especially for the comrades in Russia. I refer to those fears, that pessimism, which Comrade Yegorov showed regarding our propaganda in the countryside. 'They want us to beat the record of the Socialist-Revolutionaries,' said Comrade Yegorov. 'They want to wage a struggle against political charlatans for influence in the countryside — but in our agrarian programme we can offer the peasants much less than the Socialist-Revolutionaries can. The slogan we bring to the countryside is a small thing compared with the promises of those adventurers.' I have frequently encountered such a pessimistic view of our work among the comrades active in Russia. I think this view is groundless.

In the first place, the slogan we offer to the peasantry is not so narrow, or 'meagre', as Comrade Lieber put it. Our slogan is not at all exhausted by what is in our agrarian programme. We also bring to the countryside the general part of our programme, all our democratic demands. We can say with confidence that our slogan is very broad, and not one political party in Europe has yet presented the peasantry with such an extensive programme all at once. Secondly, following from this, our agitation in the countryside will not consist merely of appealing to the peasants as peasants. On the contrary, the principal content of our agitation will be provided by our general programme and with this we shall address the peasantry, not as a peasantry but as a mass that has been or is being proletarianised, and which is capable of coming over to the proletarian standpoint. Thirdly and finally, we must not forget that our best propagandists and agitators in the countryside will be town workers who will have much better success in winning over to the side of the proletariat the proletarianised

masses of the rural population than can be achieved by adventurers who have nothing in common with the class interests of the proletariat.

Consequently, Comrade Yegorov's fears are groundless, and I think that it is very important for the comrades in Russia to shake off these fears. And I think that Comrade Lenin was quite right when, listening to Comrade Yegorov's speech, he exclaimed: 'Well, we have yet to see.' Yes, we have yet to see!

*A proposal was put to the Bureau that the list of speakers be closed.*

*Akimov:* I think that the congress cannot adopt the agrarian programme, in view of the insufficient work that has been done on this question. What I have heard here has only confirmed my view. All the comrades have said that the programme is not clear to them. It seems to me that, this being so, we cannot close the list of speakers.

*The proposal was voted on, and it was resolved to close the list of speakers.*

*Plekhanov:* In Comrade Makhov's opinion, return of the redemption payments is not only an undesirable but also a demagogic measure. In order to reassure him, let me remind him of the demand put forward by Marx in 1848 in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* for the return of the Silesian milliards.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in answer to the charge of opportunism, I can only say that this charge also applies to Marx. But Comrade Makhov's reasoning did not even provide a hint of why this measure is demagogic in character. Suppose the peasants do divide amongst themselves the money they receive. I see nothing bad in hundreds of millions going to improve the peasants' holdings. Such improvement would, of course, only increase the differentiation among the peasants, but we shall not be frightened by that. As for Lieber, it must be said that his second speech was not like his first. At the outset he spoke to us of general demands relating to the agricultural proletariat, that is, he called for concretisation. We do not suppose, of course, that our programme has no gaps in it, but Comrade Lieber did not show us what they were.

I turn to the question of the famous Black Redistribution. We are told: when you raise the demand for the cut-off lands to be returned, you must remember that the peasants will go beyond this demand.<sup>6</sup> This does not alarm us in the least. Let us, indeed, get clear about what is meant by a Black Redistribution. Engelhardt's opinion on this

is interesting. 'In the countryside,' he says, 'Black Redistribution is most vigorously advocated by the rich peasants, who hope that the land taken from the landlords will be divided up "for money", that is, it will go to the rich'.<sup>7</sup> And such a movement in favour of redistribution would certainly be a movement in the bourgeoisie's favour. We are, of course, not obliged actively to set forth a programme for the bourgeoisie, but if, in the struggle against survivals of serfdom relations, the peasantry should take that path, then it would not be for us to hold back this progressive movement. Our role would be merely this: unlike our opponents the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who would see in it the beginning of socialisation, we would direct all our forces to ensuring that the proletariat retained no illusions about the results of this movement, exposing its bourgeois nature. Acknowledging that such a movement is possible, we must tell ourselves that it is not for us, revolutionary Social-Democrats, to halt this process, crying out at it, as Archimedes in his time cried out to the Roman soldiers: 'Stop! You are spoiling my diagram!'

*Kostrov:* I fully agree with Comrade Plekhanov. The peasant movement is not a survival from the old order but a result of new tendencies. But we must make use of this movement, we must take care that the revolutionary leadership of the peasants is in our hands and not in that of any adventurers.

*Lange:* I am not, of course, opposed to the proletariat combating survivals of feudalism. But I am not clear about the significance of the cut-off lands. I do not know what role is played, as regards bondage, by the cut-off lands, and what role by the rest of the land. If we take the Western Territory, where most of the land went to the peasants, we see that bondage is flourishing there. The method proposed in the programme with regard to the cut-off lands does not follow from the role played by these lands. The cut-off lands, as I see it, play a role different from that of the surviving noble estates, to the expropriation of which Social-Democrats can have no objection. I do not know why we should not call for the expropriation of all land. It is necessary to remark that we must not become carried away by our programme. It will, of course, be used as propaganda in study circles, but its role in mass propaganda among the peasants will be infinitesimal.

*Yegorov:* I shall not say much, so as not to take up the time of the meeting, especially as the question is evidently clear to most of the comrades. I will merely reply to Comrade Gusev. Contrary to what he



says, I am not inclined to pessimism, but I do regard the programme as opportunist. It may be that the demand put forward is the maximum that can be given, in accordance with the course of economic development. I merely think that it will not win the race in competition with adventurist demands. I would add, further, that I am far from sharing the infatuation of the editorial board for the peasant movement, an infatuation to which many Social-Democrats have succumbed since the peasant disturbances. In this connection the example of Western Europe constitutes for me a convincing proof. There, despite the incomparably better conditions for propaganda, and despite the better conditions in which the peasants live, the preaching of socialism among them has met with no success. I do not doubt that the peasantry will play a big role in the movement, but it will be a purely spontaneous one. It is a long way from that, however, to saying that by including socialism in our programme we shall enjoy success among the peasantry.

*Makhov:* There is a prejudice, says Comrade Martov, to the effect that the *muzhik* is a stupid fellow, and our Article 3 is directed towards eliminating this survival of serfdom. If this article is directed merely towards eliminating that survival, and Comrade Martov thinks that I harbour this superstition, then I advise him to vote against Article 3, since I do not in the least suppose that the *muzhik* is a stupid fellow. On the contrary, I think the *muzhik* is a shrewd fellow. He is shrewd, but shrewd like any petty-bourgeois. One cannot call the *muzhik* stupid just because his ideal is that of the petty-bourgeois. But just because I regard the *muzhik* as shrewd within the limits of his narrow class standpoint, I think that he will persist in his petty-bourgeois ideal of seizing and dividing up.

If, says Comrade Martov, the *muzhik* accepts our general demand for nationalisation of the land, then he will accept all the more readily our demand for nationalisation of the property mentioned in Article 3, and the purpose given for this. But who told Comrade Martov that the *muzhik* would accept this is the first place? I think that, on the contrary, if we have in mind the whole mass of peasants — not some particular class among them, but the mass of the peasantry as a whole; and it is only of the peasantry in that sense that our agrarian programme speaks — then it will accept neither the general demand for nationalisation of the land nor the demand contained in Article 3. It will not accept them, that is, in their Social-Democratic sense. But the

peasants will accept them in the petty-bourgeois sense, they will be for nationalising the land and dividing it up.

‘What a misfortune!’ said Comrade Plekhanov. ‘If the peasants want to divide up all the land, that will be a revolution, and we shall not oppose it, and if they ask for the redemption and other payments to be returned to them, and put the money in their pockets, those sums will go to improve their holdings, and that will be no great misfortune.’ I do not know, of course, what to call a misfortune. But this revolution, if it can be called such, would not be a revolutionary one. [*Posadovsky*: ‘I ask that this expression be recorded in the minutes!’] It would be truer to call it, not revolution but reaction [*laughter*], a revolution that was more like a riot. This revolution would throw us back, and only after twenty years would we return to the position we have today. [*Plekhanov*: ‘Look at *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya!*’]<sup>8</sup> Look at it! [*Laughter.*] I see that many comrades do not like my precise statement of the number of years, and so I will put it more indefinitely. Such a revolution would throw us back, and it would require a certain amount of time to get back to the position we have today. And today we have far more than at the time of the French Revolution [*ironical applause*], we have a Social-Democratic Party [*laughter*]. Division of the land and of the money returned from the redemption and other payments would have the same effect as would result from confiscating the factories and then dividing them up among the proletariat or, worse still, among the people as a whole.

*The session was closed*

## Twentieth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 deciding votes and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

**Karsky:** Those who say that the leaders of the peasant movement may be opportunists, or even, as some put it, 'adventurers', are mistaken. That is unjust, and I must speak up in my own defence, because in Caucasia it is my comrades and I who have become the leaders of peasant movements, and we have not betrayed our basic principles. There is now a peasant movement in Caucasia. In Guria, for example, it has embraced nearly the entire peasantry. It began there thanks to workers forced to leave the towns, who brought into the countryside the ideas they had acquired in the towns. They became the peasants' leaders, and they did not promise them division of the land, but put forward demands similar to their own demands in the towns; for reduction of rent, by analogy with the reduction of the working day. But they told the peasants that complete liberation could come only with socialism. We did not talk to them about the cut-off lands because there is nothing like that in our part of the country.

**Trotsky:** Comrade Karsky said that in Caucasia, despite the pessimism of certain comrades, the Social-Democrats are already to a certain extent the leaders of the peasant movement. 'And did you speak to the peasants about the cut-off lands?' Comrade Yegorov asked him. As though the cut-off lands are the centre of gravity of the Social-Democratic programme. I remember that in Paris, after some speeches like that, accompanied by discussion, the student audience became convinced that the cut-off lands were the basis of Social-Democracy. Comrade Yegorov's point of view reminds me of that episode.

The cut-off lands have their definite place in a definite section of

our programme, and there can be no doubt that it is right that they should. I would advise all comrades to read Nechetny's article in the second volume of the *Vestnik Russkoy Revolyutsii*.<sup>1</sup> Some interesting facts are assembled there, though they are, of course, wrongly interpreted. These facts show that all serious peasant riots, protests and so on have been bound up, as regards their origin, not with any semi-mystical concept on the peasants' part about their right to all the land, not with their notions of Byelovodia and the Land of Justice,<sup>2</sup> but with quite concrete forms of oppression, with some cut-off water-meadow, forest, pond, etc. But, says Martynov, economic life has, after all, not stood still since 1861. The role played by the cut-off lands as a cause of bondage has changed. But are we forbidding the peasants' committees to look into all the concrete changes which have taken place in connection with the cut-off lands? We are not drawing maps on which 'the cut-off lands' are marked in revolutionary red — if the peasants' committees seize 'non-cut-off lands' . . . It is pointless for Comrade Lieber to tell us that we cannot get rid of all the cut-off lands which sustain the regime of bondage, with one blow, like extracting an aching tooth. We do not aspire to the role of political dentists. We do not suppose we can abolish agrarian bondage with a single decree. That is a task for the peasants' committees. They know very well which tooth it is that aches, and will do everything that is necessary.

But now Comrade Makhov gets up and says he is afraid that we have excited the *muzhik*. Don't tickle the *muzhik*'s mouth, Comrade Makhov advises us, or the *muzhik* will open his jaws wide and demand a general redistribution of the land, and that will hinder concentration. Concentration of agricultural production? As though that depended only on the way the land is distributed, as though the distribution of the land will not respond to the requirements of capitalist agriculture.

This warning — 'don't tickle the *muzhik*'s mouth!' — is produced by Comrade Makhov when what is under discussion is returning the redemption and quit-rent payments in order to raise the cultural level of the rural areas. This demand seems to Comrade Makhov utterly casual and demagogic, even adventuristic, and, in any case, having nothing to do, in principle, with the question of abolishing the survivals of serfdom.

That is not so at all. The low cultural level of our peasants is determined not only by the general conditions of rural life in bourgeois society, but also by that extra oppression which the serf-

owning state imposes upon our countryside. Quit-rent and redemption payments have been extorted from the countryfolk ever since 1861. Restoration of this money in order to raise their cultural level follows from the general principle of our agrarian programme.

But there were also speakers who, besides criticising the agrarian programme, put forward this idea — let us not deceive ourselves about our success among the peasants; demagogues will be the ones who will succeed there; let's have fewer illusions!; look at the example of the West; and so on. Comrades Makhov, Yegorov and Lange all joined in giving us this advice. But their well-meant advice smacked too much of philistinism. Can we calculate our successes in advance? And what influence can this have on our programme and on our agitation? Our programme is decided by a definite principle, and our agitation by the nature of the political tasks of the moment. Before us is the task of revolutionising the peasant masses. Of course the peasantry provide favourable soil for *demagogy*. But that soap-bubble which out of courtesy one calls the Socialist-Revolutionary Party is too un-serious a competitor. The Liberal opposition of the Zemstvos would not, of course, be averse to utilising the peasantry as a battering ram. But it is itself afraid of the real consequences of demagogy. This lack of serious rivals makes our task easier. In the West, we are told, the Social-Democrats have had no success with the peasants. But in the West the party of the proletariat arose when the revolutionary peasantry had already fulfilled their role. In our country the situation is different. In the approaching revolutionary period we must link ourselves with the peasantry — both in the interests of the peasant poor and in the interests of the proletariat. In face of this task the scepticism and political 'far-sightedness' of Makhov and Yegorov are more harmful than any short-sightedness. In our work among the peasantry I should desire for our Party not this far-sighted caution, but boldness, boldness and more boldness!

*Lenin:* Before passing to details, I want to object to certain general statements which have been made, and in the first place to those of Comrade Martynov. Comrade Martynov says that it is not the feudalism of the past that we have to combat, but the feudalism that exists today. That is right, but let me remind you of my reply to X. The latter referred to Saratov Province. I have looked at the data for that province, and found that the cut-off lands there amount to 600,000 *desyatins*, that is, to two-fifths of all the land that was held by

the peasants under serfdom, while the rented land amounts to 900,000 *desyatins*. This means that two-thirds of the rented land consists of cut-off lands. So we are out to restore to the peasants two-thirds of the land they occupy as tenants. Hence, it is no ghost that we are fighting, but a real evil. We should arrive at the situation that exists in Ireland, where the current land reform was needed in order to turn the tenant farmers into small proprietors.<sup>3</sup> The similarity between Ireland and Russia was pointed out already by the Narodniks in their economic writings. Comrade Gorin says that the measure I propose is not the best — that it would be better to turn the peasants into free tenant-farmers. But he is mistaken in thinking that it would be better to turn semi-free tenants into free tenants. We are not inventing a transition, but proposing one that would bring the law on land-tenure into line with actually existing conditions, thereby abolishing the relations of bondage that exist today. Martynov says that it is not our demands that are meagre, but the principle from which they are derived. But that is like the arguments the Socialist-Revolutionaries bring against us. We are pursuing in the countryside two aims which are different in kind: first, we want to secure freedom for bourgeois relations; secondly, we want to wage the proletarian struggle. It is our task, despite the prejudice of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, to show the peasants where the revolutionary proletarian task of the peasant proletariat begins. Comrade Kostrov's objections are therefore groundless. We are told that the peasantry will not be satisfied with our programme, and will go further. But we are not afraid of that, we have our socialist programme for that eventuality, and so we are not afraid even of a redistribution of the land, which frightens Comrades Makhov and Kostrov so badly.

To conclude. Comrade Yegorov has called chimerical the hope we place in the peasantry. No, we are not carried away, we are sufficiently sceptical, and that is why we say to the peasant proletariat: 'You are fighting now by the side of the peasant bourgeoisie, but you must always be prepared to fight against that same bourgeoisie, and that fight you will wage together with the industrial proletarians of the towns.'

In 1848 [*sic*: 1852 — *Trans.*] Marx said that the peasants had judgment as well as prejudices. And now, when we point out to the poor peasants the cause of their poverty, we can count on success. We believe that, because the Social-Democrats have now taken up the struggle for the interests of the peasants, we shall in future be reckon-

ing with the fact that the peasant masses will become accustomed to looking to the Social-Democrats as the defenders of their interests.

*Kostich:* None of those who have spoken in opposition have dealt with the section on principles. All the objectors have dealt with the surface of the matter; they are logically all in sympathy with each other. Comrade Makhov found the programme demagogic, deducing this from one point in it. Quite apart from the fact that, even if one point was demagogic in character, one couldn't generalise about the whole programme from that, what is there that is demagogic in that point? In the circumstance that it proposes establishing a special fund for cultural and charitable purposes? He himself says that the peasants have their own special prejudices, that if you say to the peasant: 'Here you are, here's one rouble,' he always wants to put it in his own pocket. Yes, if it be not added what the purpose of these roubles is. Why did he argue? Because he was extremely inattentive, and so made the same mistake as the Liberals, who also called our proposed measure a piece of demagogy. Comrade Makhov spoke of the peculiar psychology of the peasant, of Black Redistribution, and he is afraid that the peasants will digest the Social-Democrats. But whence comes this unsureness of himself, of the stability of his principles? Lieber spoke of meagreness, and then started on about particular, special tasks. It is curious how Comrade Lieber always brings everything down to particular, special programmes for certain regions. They talk about 'meagreness', but when they are invited to 'broaden' they cannot add anything new. Yegorov refuses to understand the agrarian programme and, having a very pessimistic attitude to the peasants and to the possibility of the Social-Democrats' gaining influence over them, rejects the whole thing. That is not logical. In his pessimism Comrade Makhov is at one with Comrade Yegorov, although they differ in shade. He forgets that the Social-Democrats are already working among the peasantry, are already directing the peasant movement as far as possible. And this pessimism of theirs narrows the scope of our work. Karsky said, rightly, that the opponents of the agrarian programme said nothing essential about the essential part of this programme.

*Chairman:* The list of speakers is exhausted. The discussion on the general part is over. Let us proceed to consideration of the agrarian programme in detail. A number of amendments have been moved. I

propose that we discuss Comrade Makhov's first, as being the most radical.

*With the agreement of the congress, Comrade Makhov was called upon to speak.*

**Makhov:** When we were discussing the language question, Comrade Plekhanov proposed that the question be deferred to the next congress. Why? Because we could not decide on the question and so it was not cleared up. But that discussion convinced me that both sides at this congress had thought out their positions well enough. In the case of the agrarian programme, however, both the defence offered and the objections made have convinced me that this matter has not been thoroughly thought out. For example, when I speak I have one half of Russia in mind, but Lenin is thinking of the other half. Comrade Karsky supported the programme. Why? Because he judged it by Caucasia, where agrarian conditions are quite different from what they are in the rest of Russia. If we look at our agrarian programme as a whole we see that what we demand for the peasants follows from the other parts of our programme. Abolition of the redemption payments follows from the reorganisation of our financial system. Abolition of collective responsibility follows from abolition of social estates. It is superfluous to call for the return of particular sums of money since, if we demand sovereignty of the people, this means that the people can dispose of *all* money, and by saying this we only narrow its scope. What we demand for everyone we also demand for the peasants. As regards Article 5, even the law that exists now condemns what are called unscrupulous contracts, and it is only the peasants' ignorance that prevents them from becoming aware of the laws and knowing how to use them. Consequently, the whole agrarian programme is unnecessary. In so far as we approach the peasant proletariat, we can do this with the general part of our programme; in so far as we want to approach the other, non-proletarian, part of the peasantry, we can offer them nothing. I therefore propose that we reject the agrarian programme as a whole.

*Lyadov (on a point of order)* proposed that the list of speakers on Comrade Makhov's motion be closed, since discussion of it would merely repeat the previous day's debate.

**Akimov** did not think it possible to accept Comrade Lyadov's proposal, since the agrarian question was very important, and, in his



view, the majority of the congress was not clear on the subject [*shouts: 'Untrue!'*] and he noted that on every complex question that arose a similar proposal was brought forward.

*Comrade Lyadov's proposal for closing the list of speakers was put to the vote and adopted, with 27 votes.*

*Lieber (moving a resolution and being authorised to speak in support of it):* Comrade Makhov's proposal is unacceptable. We cannot refuse to provide an agrarian programme, since other parties, such as the Socialist-Revolutionaries, provide one. And we are united on the general part of our agrarian programme. On that matter Akimov is wrong. The congress is clear about that. It is the question of the details, of the concrete application of these general principles, that the congress is not clear about. I therefore propose that the general part be set out more extensively and fully than in five lines. This task should be turned over to a commission. The detailed part of the programme should be scrapped.

*Martov:* Though I agree with Lieber that Comrade Makhov's proposal is unacceptable, I do not agree with his reasons. It is not because the Socialist-Revolutionaries have issued an agrarian programme, and we should be ashamed not to do the same, that we must provide such a programme, but because life has put this question on the agenda. Not to answer means refusing to answer. But Lieber's proposal is also a proposal that we refuse to answer this question. I therefore oppose both resolutions.

*Makhov* withdrew his resolution and supported Lieber's. The following resolution by Lieber was put to the vote: 'The second congress of the RSDLP has worked out a number of general theses of principle regarding its attitude to the agrarian question in Russia, while at the same time declining to formulate in detail particular concrete demands.'

*This resolution was rejected by 38 to 9.*

*The first paragraph was discussed.*

*Lenin* moved an amendment: to replace 'will aim at' by 'demands first and foremost'. In the speeches made during our discussion it was said that the draft deliberately said 'will aim at' so as to stress that we intend to do this not now but in the future. So as not to provide

grounds for such a misunderstanding I am moving this amendment. I want by including the words 'first and foremost' to say that we have other demands besides those in the agrarian part of our programme.

*Akselrod* moved a resolution to include the word 'directly' so as to indicate that there were also those who suffered indirectly.

*Martynov* fully supported Lenin's proposal, but did not agree with the reason he gave for it. By the words 'first and foremost' Lenin wanted to say that they also had a socialist programme. The amendment served to broaden and so to improve the draft.

*Martov* supported *Akselrod*'s resolution. Indirectly, the survivals of serfdom affected the urban proletariat as well — e.g., through the system of collective responsibility.

*Gorin*: I cannot support *Karsky*'s statement that the Caucasian committee are carrying on agitation in the spirit of Article 4 of *Iskra*'s agrarian programme. No, they are doing this precisely in the spirit of my draft. Agitation in Caucasia is not about anything like the return of the cut-off lands. The subject of agitation is the replacement of the peasants' personal obligations by obligations in terms of money, and the standardisation of these cash payments. Now, to reply to Comrade Lenin. He says that this draft is no idle invention, that in Ireland, which he compares, as regards what we are discussing, to Russia, something like the return of the cut-off lands is now being carried out. I say that my draft too is far from being an idle invention. History knows two ways of making the transition from feudal to capitalist relations. I refer also to the authority of Marx, according to whom, besides free small-scale ownership and free small-scale tenancy, the transition can also be made directly. The reference to Ireland is not convincing. I am in the good company of Marx when, unlike Comrade Lenin, I do not look upon any one method of transition to capitalist relations as being the absolute norm. Both methods can be either normal or abnormal, depending on the social circumstances. For Ireland transition by way of petty proprietorship is undoubtedly necessary. Irish landlordism is not just noble landownership but also political rule over Ireland. In addition, Irish landownership is, owing to the tremendous concentration of land, a case of monopoly by the landowners not only in relation to the small tenants but also to the capitalist farmers. It is an absolute hindrance to the development of capitalist relations. I see nothing similar to that in Russia. In France

the enrichment of the petty proprietors at the expense of the feudalists resulted from the revolution, and so cannot be taken into account.

But my objections to the draft do not concern what has been said here. I merely consider my own draft to be better, and if it is rejected I shall vote for Comrade Lenin's, since I recognise the transition from feudal to capitalist relations by way of petty proprietorship as being also a revolutionary act. And it is impossible to leave that to take its own course. I emphasise, like Comrade Trotsky, that it is highly important for the Party to link itself with the peasantry. Comrade Lenin has said that we are on the eve of our 1848. I fully agree with him. But I would add that we are at the same time to some extent on the eve, first, of our Great Revolution, since we are dealing with the autocracy and other feudal survivals, and, secondly, of our Commune, since, thanks to West-European socialist and ideological influence, we have a revolutionary proletariat and a workers' party (in the shape of the Social-Democratic movement) which, though perhaps not a par with the parties in Western Europe, can, to some extent at least, promise us our 1871. But in that case we need to rid ourselves, so far as possible, of those unfavourable conditions in which the proletariat of Western Europe found itself in all the revolutions I have mentioned, because it was not linked with the peasantry.

*Kostrov:* Gorin said that in Caucasia propaganda among the peasant population is carried on *exclusively* against the survivals of serfdom. But that is not so. Yesterday I said that at the head of the peasant movement in our part of the country stands our most cultured area, namely, Western Georgia, and Guria in particular. Here there is no question of cut-off lands; here the survivals of feudalism are slight; *this* movement has been created on the basis of modern ideas, thanks to the urban workers exiled from Batum as a result of the strike. At the head of the movement have stood our own comrades, and they have begun to make propaganda not only for the abolition of all survivals of serfdom but also for socialisation of the land. I know of a case, for example, when at a village gathering one of the ordinary peasants spoke about abolishing private ownership of land and socialising it. In short, in Caucasia, besides propaganda for the abolition of all survivals of serfdom we carry on propaganda for socialism too.

*Karsky:* I am surprised at what Comrade Gorin said. When we composed our appeal to the peasants we did this in the spirit of our propaganda. Comrade Gorin was not there. If we did not refer to the

question of the cut-off lands this was not because we are against them but because this problem does not exist in Caucasia. I have a special report on this matter, which I offer to the attention of anyone who wants to read it.

*Lenin's amendment was voted on and adopted by all against one.*

*Akselrod's amendment was voted on and adopted unanimously.*

*The first paragraph as a whole was adopted unanimously.*

*Article 1 was discussed.*

*Lyadov* proposed adding: 'or on other inhabitants of the countryside, as a taxpaying estate'.

*Posadovsky* considered this amendment of *Lyadov's* unacceptable, since it spoiled the unity of a whole section of the agrarian programme, expressed in the first paragraph, where it was stated that the subject-matter was the peasants.

*Martov* defended the appropriateness of the insertion proposed by *Lyadov*, since what was meant here was the peasants as a socio-economic entity, in which all the inhabitants of the countryside could be included.

*Plekhanov* sided with *Posadovsky's* interpretation, since the rights of other estates were guaranteed by other sections of our programme.

*Lyadov*: Serfdom relations exist not only for the peasants but also for other estates.

*Posadovsky*: Serfdom relations survive not only in the rural areas, as, for example, in the case of quit-rent payers: whole towns are still in the dependent condition of quit-rent payers (*Berdichev* and others).

*Martov* agreed that Comrade *Lyadov's* last reason was wrong, but he could not accept *Plekhanov's* arguments as correct.

*Makhov*: Since the agrarian programme has not been rejected, we have to mix everything into it. The whole of New Russia was settled after 1861 and there are no serfdom relations there.<sup>4</sup> One cannot speak of the peasantry as a single entity.

*Plekhanov*: Comrade *Makhov's* triumph is premature: what we are considering here is the redemption and quit-rent payments, but this is something quite different from general taxation. Comrade *Makhov*

has misunderstood. But I offer him this example: in Ireland redemption and general taxation have nothing in common. The end of the paragraph, which is a repetition, though not essential, is not without value.

*Lenin:* I am against Comrade Lyadov's proposal. We are not drafting law, but only giving general indications. Among the townsfolk in Russia there are also members of the taxpaying estates, and also there are the small tradesmen in the suburbs, and others, and if we were to include them all in our programme we should have to use the terminology of Volume IX of the Code of Laws.

*Martov* opposed insertions which deprived the programme of its character as an agrarian programme, but considered that Comrade Lyadov's did not come into that category, as it dealt with a broad stratum of the *non-peasant* population of the rural areas.

*Muravyov:* In Article 4 we mention the setting up of peasant committees for abolishing survivals of serfdom in the Urals and so on. Consequently, no insertion is needed in this paragraph.

*Comrade Lyadov's amendment, to add: 'or on other inhabitants of rural areas, as a taxpaying estate', was voted on, and rejected, by 25 to 15.*

*Article 1 as a whole was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.*

*Article 2 was discussed.*

*Kostrov and Lange moved amendments (see below) to this article.*

*Martynov:* This article gives oblique hints but provides no answer to anything of importance. How are we to understand 'their land'? From the recent commentaries in *Iskra* and *Zarya* it emerges that the peasant is to be able not only to get his share in a redistribution but also to take an allotment for himself. Therefore, there are two possible interpretations here: (1) each peasant has the right of redemption, in which case the interests of the village community are not infringed; or (2) each peasant has the right to appropriate land for himself, without redemption. I ask, how are we to understand this? Is there some unwillingness to give an answer here?

*Lenin:* Martynov's question seems to me superfluous. Instead of stating general principles we are being forced to go into details. If we were to do this we should never come to the end of this congress. The

principle is quite definite: each peasant has the right to dispose of his land, regardless of whether it is part of the village community's land or privately owned. This is merely a demand for the peasant to have the right to dispose of his land. We insist that there must be no special laws for the peasants; we want more than merely the right to leave the village community. What may be required, in detail, to implement this we cannot now decide. I am against Comrade Lange's addition: we cannot demand the abolition of all laws regulating the use of land. That would be going too far.

*Martynov*: I have been completely misunderstood. I am speaking not of details but of the general principle. Who is the owner of the land? The village community or the peasant who disposes of it? If the former then, since we consider it a hindrance to economic development, we stand for the right of redemption. If the latter, then there is no need for redemption.

*Lyadov*: If we introduce freedom of use into the programme, as Comrade Lange has proposed, we may end up with the Manchester principle.

*Lenin*: Martynov is evidently under a misapprehension. What we want is uniform application of a common body of laws — that which has now been adopted in all bourgeois states, derived from the basis of Roman law, which recognises both common property and private property. We should like to consider landownership by the village community as common property.

*Plekhanov*: I think it should be added that in the programme of the 'Emancipation of Labour' group there was mention of the peasant's right to renounce his allotment. Current writings on this subject have shown that today the realisation of the demand would, owing to its inadequacy, run counter to the interests of the poorest section of the peasantry.

*Lange*: I maintain my amendment, since I consider insufficient the facts that have been given in explanation. In the sphere of land-ownership there are still many survivals of serfdom. Compulsory ways of using land, for instance. Comrade Lyadov's objects are unsound, since by that reasoning all roads would lead to Manchesterism.

*Comrade Kostrov's amendment, to delete 'collective responsibility', was voted on and adopted unanimously.*

*Lange's amendment, to add 'and, to some extent, use', was rejected by a big majority.*

*Article 2 was voted on as a whole and adopted unanimously.*

*Article 3 was discussed.*

*Makhov* moved that Article 3 be rejected. Article 3 did not explain the agrarian programme as a whole and had nothing in common with it. We can raise the cultural and material level of the peasantry by other means. We should not play with phrases like 'return of the redemption payments to the people'. We want to obtain money for certain purposes, so let us say so. And what shall we do with the rest of the money if the amount obtained from the confiscation exceeds what is needed? Accordingly, I regard the proposal as purely demagogic.

*Comrade Makhov's proposal for complete elimination of this article was rejected by all against four.*

*Rusov:* Confiscation of monastery and appanage estates has no place in this article. Even if nothing were to be said about the redemption payments we should still have to confiscate these estates. I propose that the point about confiscation be transferred to a separate article.

*Martynov:* I do not understand why it is necessary to restore to the peasantry only what was taken from them after 1861 and not what was taken from them earlier. This is redressing historical injustice, but that did not begin for the peasantry only with the period of emancipation. We cannot take the standpoint of redressing historical injustice. We must do all we can for the cultural advancement of the peasantry, and the first part of this article merely restricts this fundamental demand.

*Muravyov:* We are concerned with eliminating survivals of feudalism. I should willingly favour demanding back *everything* that was taken from the peasants before 1861 as well, but I do not see what organisations or persons we could appeal to with such a demand, and so I should not advocate it.

*Martov:* We are told that restoration of the cut-off lands will not abolish bondage relations. What are we going to do? It would seem that here we provide the answer. I stand for retaining here the word 'charitable'. This must be kept, since it concerns a struggle against the pauperism which developed on the basis of the allotments that were granted in 1861.

*Martynov:* Like Comrade Muravyov, I am in favour of taking everything possible from the exploiters. Therefore I am against the limitations of our programme. If our aim is to do everything for the peasants at the expense of the exploiters, then there is no point in confining our demands to the expropriation of the estates of the landlords alone. I do not see why we should not extend this expropriation to the land belonging to the Falz-Feins<sup>5</sup> and whole groups of new-type exploiters. We ought not to tie our hands.

*Muravyov:* Agreed. But not everything that is desirable is possible. Against the exploiters of whom Martynov speaks we fight by means of taxes on income. Sums of money which have caused poverty must go to raising the cultural level.

*Kostrov:* I propose that Article 3 be split into two parts and each part voted on separately, as comrades who support the first part may be against the second. I am definitely for the confiscation of monastery and appanage estates. There is even an element of bondage-relations in these estates. For example, the Borzhomi estate<sup>6</sup> of Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolayevich obliges the peasants who live on the lands of this estate to sell their produce *exclusively* to the estate office, which itself fixes the prices for this produce, and the peasant has to submit to the arbitrary decision of that office.

As regards the second half of the article, it is unjust and unrealistic. After all, many nobles who received redemption loans have already dissipated their estates and these have been acquired by kulaks, practically for a song. And why should special taxes be taken from these impoverished noblemen (assuming that we could obtain the money from them anyway) while the kulaks get off scot free? That would be unjust, and even impracticable.

*Rusov:* It is clear from what has been said that many who have spoken here in favour of confiscation do not agree with the rest of this article. So I support the demand for the article to be split and each part voted on separately.

*Gusev* opposed Comrade Rusov's proposal. There could not be a separate article in the agrarian programme dealing with confiscation, since this had no place in such a programme.

*Lyadov* proposed adding the words: 'church estates and those in the nature of latifundia'. By saying this we show that we want to return to the peasants not only what was taken from them after 1861 but also what was taken before that date.



*Posadovsky*: I agree with Comrade Lyadov, and propose that we add: 'church estates, and also those belonging to the Tsar'. I do not agree with him, though, about including latifundia, since we should then be introducing a demand for the expropriation of all large landowners, and that does not follow from the basis of this section of our minimum programme.

*Kostrov* proposed adding: 'estates of the imperial family'.

*Makhov*: I want to ask a question. There are appanage estates and estates which are the private property of members of the imperial family. Are they to be treated as one and the same? The latter are of enormous extent. For instance, Nicholas II owns extensive lands in Siberia. Mikhail Nikolayevich, when he was ruling Caucasia, looted nearly the whole of it and he also has big latifundia in Kherson province.

*Yegorov* explained the matter of appanage and crown lands.

*Kostrov*: None of the estates of the imperial family were bought, but stolen from the people; we must certainly include all the estates of the imperial family.

*Lenin*: I am not sure that Comrade Yegorov's explanation of the difference between appanage lands and those belonging to the Tsar is correct, but since Comrade Yegorov insists, I have nothing against that.

*Rusov's resolution was voted on. This was for the words 'confiscation of monastery and appanage estates for general state purposes' to be made a separate article. It was rejected by 19 to 11.*

*Martynov's resolution was voted on. This was to formulate Article 3 as: 'confiscation of monastery property and appanage estates. The sums thus obtained to be placed in a special people's fund for the cultural needs of the rural communities'. It was rejected by 22 to 8.*

*Akselrod's proposal to delete the word 'large' from the end of the fourth line of Article 3 was adopted.*

*Glebov's proposal was adopted unanimously. This was to insert: 'confiscation of monastery and church property and also appanage and crown estates and those of all members of the imperial family.'*

*Fomin's amendment, to add to Glebov's the words: 'and belonging to', was adopted unanimously.*

*Rejected by all against two was Makhov's amendment to Glebov's for deletion of the word 'crown'.*

*Gorin's proposal was rejected. This was that Article 3 should read: 'Confiscation of monastery property, appanage estates and lands cut off from the peasants' holdings when serfdom was abolished. Taxes to be imposed on the lands of large-scale noble landowners who have received redemption loans. The sums obtained in this way to be paid into funds from which (1) the money taken from the people in the form of redemption and quit-rent payments must be returned to them, and (2) the cultural and charitable needs of the rural communities will be satisfied.'*

*Lyadov's amendment — to add: 'and large latifundia' — was rejected by all against four.*

*Lange's amendment was rejected by all against one. This was to add: 'as well as other large landowners, with grant to them of the right to claim compensation for their losses from the original noble owners'.*

*Lyadov's amendment, to delete from the end the words 'of the rural communities', was rejected by all against one.*

*Plekhanov's amendment, to substitute 'return to the peasants' for 'return to the people,' was adopted.*

*The article as a whole was approved by all against four.<sup>7</sup>*

*The session was closed.*

## Twenty-first Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*Kostrov* said that serfdom relations had been preserved in Caucasia in forms that were different from those in the rest of Russia. There were 1,150 peasants in temporary bondage, who had not yet redeemed their allotments. It was desirable that these relations should be abolished, and so a demand for their abolition should be included in the programme.

*Martynov*: To do that it would be enough to insert in Article 4 the words: 'and in Caucasia'.

*Kostrov*: No. It is important to mention specifically this form of serfdom.

*Rusov*: Introducing particular demands like this merely lengthens the programme without making it complete, since, while enumerating various forms of serfdom, we may leave out several. Wherever survivals of serfdom may exist, they are all included in the formulation: 'in all parts of Russia'. Consequently we should confine ourselves in the programme to general indications only.

*Lyadov*: I quite agree with Comrade Rusov. But Article 4 is about setting up peasants' committees exclusively for the purposes of regulating agrarian relations. Yet survivals of serfdom have been preserved not only among the peasants. We have the quit-rent payers (*chinsheviki*), the Siberian post-servants (*yamshchiki*)<sup>1</sup> and so on. So we should make the second part of Article 4 an article on its own, worded like this: 'Abolition of survivals of serfdom relations wherever they may be found.'

*Plekhanov*: The *chinsheviki* and the post-servants are peasants, too.

*Lyadov* and *Kostrov* supported Comrade Rusov's amendment.

*Lenin* tried to link together the proposals of Rusov and Kostrov in the following way. Including in Article 4 the words: 'and in Caucasia', we provide, by this amendment, that it comes within the competence of the peasants' committees. If that is not enough, then especially important cases can be dealt with in a special point — for instance, saying that the land of peasants in temporary bondage should become their property.

*Lieber*: My proposal does away with the need for all these amendments, by deleting the whole of Article 4. I should like to have this explained to me: what are 'peasants' committees'? For what period are they to be set up? The moment of revolution? Or are they to be transformed into a permanent institution? If this is a protracted process, why do we need all this article? If the abolition of serfdom relations is to be effected in a revolutionary way, why are committees needed? Comrade Plekhanov says that we must grant the peasants the right to recover the cut-off lands. But in this connection it is being forgotten that the peasantry are already differentiated to a considerable extent. Who are to constitute these committees: the poor peasants or the kulaks? What attitude are we Social-Democrats to take up towards them? What activity are we to undertake in defence of the oppressed? Otherwise, all the land will go to the kulaks, who, as the more influential stratum of the population, will rule the roost in the committees. I repeat my question: on whose behalf are we working — the kulaks', or that of the rural proletariat? And another question: why should we put our hopes in the revolutionary spirit of the peasants' committees? There are no grounds for showing such faith in them. Why cannot the Social-Democrats themselves abolish survivals of serfdom in a revolutionary way? This article is based on faith in the revolutionariness of peasants' committees, and the role of Social-Democracy is not mentioned in it at all. If it was Socialist-Revolutionaries who were talking here, that would be understandable. For them the peasantry is homogeneous. I regard this article as wholly unsatisfactory.

*Chairman*: You have forgotten to speak about Comrade Kostrov's proposal.

*Lieber*: It goes without saying, that proposal will be unnecessary. Fortunately, we have present here representatives of Caucasia who

have been able to tell us about the existence of survivals of serfdom in their part of the country. But we have here no representatives of Poland or Latvia. And we cannot overlook the existence of abnormalities of that sort in those parts too. Therefore I propose that this section be deleted altogether.

*Karsky* considered inappropriate Lenin's proposal that a special point be introduced.

*Lyadov*: Comrade Lieber mentioned that we have no Letts here and so we do not know enough details about the existence of serfdom in their part of the country. But that is a delusion. Purely capitalist relations prevail among the Letts. There is no serfdom there.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, our Lettish comrades have no special programme for the peasants.

*Lange* said that serfdom relations did exist among the Letts, extending even into family relations and openly intruding into the personal lives of the peasants.

*Plekhanov*: Our programme, the programme of the RSDLP, deals mainly with relations in Russia. This comes about partly because our Party has been joined only by the Bund, which does not deal with peasants, and the Caucasians, who have not yet put forward any ideas on this matter. Points relevant to particular border areas can, of course, be introduced into the programme. Let the comrades from each borderland work out their own demands and, provided they do not contradict our general principles, and are not too petty, we shall be glad to include them in the programme.

*Lyadov*: There are no serfdom relations among the Letts. There, the peasants were emancipated without land, and what exists there now is, on the one hand, landlords, and, on the other, agricultural labourers.

*Kostrov*: In our parts there are still an impressive number of peasants in temporary bondage (about 100,000 in Tiflis province and about 50,000 in Kutais province), and also what are called the *khizani*, whose situation should be changed. I will say something about the *khizani*. We give this name to a particular category of peasants living in Tiflis and Kutais provinces and numbering about 48,000. The *khizani*'s situation came about, already in the period of serfdom, in this way: a peasant driven from his home by famine or some other

calamity found shelter with some landlord and, being given by him the tenancy of some land, rendered him services merely in respect of this land. He did not, like a serf, become bound to render personal service; he was not a serf, and so the reform of 1861 did not affect him, the law did not take him into account. But some conflicts with landlords who wanted to evict *khizani* from their land attracted the attention of the Government to this question, and in 1891 it issued a 'statute of the *khizani*'. By this statute the landlord could evict a *khizan* from the land only by mutual agreement. And since the *khizani* did not want at all to give up to the landlords the land they had cultivated and built upon, the landlords appealed to the government to 'protect the peasants from oppression'. The result of these intrigues was the statute of 1900, by which a landlord was given full authority to evict a *khizan* from his land whenever he saw fit to do so, on paying the *khizan* the value of any buildings he had erected. This authority was extensively used by the landlords, and this gave rise to a number of agrarian crimes, peasant movements, and so on.

This question can be settled only in a revolutionary way, by recognising the *khizani* as owners of the lands they have occupied for centuries and which they have paid for many times over. I therefore propose immediate abolition of both temporary bondage and the situation of the *khizan*. In this connection I suggest the following wording: '(b) for handing over to ownership by the peasants in Caucasia those lands which they have been working as temporary bondsmen, *khizani*, etc.'; (c) would then take the place of what in the draft appears as (b).

*Lenin:* The question has arisen of drafting an addition to Article 4, relating to Caucasia. It would be best to insert this addition after point (a). There are two resolutions before us. If we adopt Comrade Karsky's amendment, the point would lose too much of its concreteness. In the Urals, for instance, there are a host of survivals, it's a real lair of serfdom. As regards the Letts we can say that they come under the phrase: 'and in other parts of the country'. I support Comrade Kostrov's proposal, namely, that we should include a demand for the transfer of land-titles to the *khizani*, temporary bondsmen, and so on.

*Karsky* withdrew his amendment.

*Lieber:* Point (b) is tautologous in relation to the section of the agrarian programme dealing with principles, in which it has already

been said that we are for the abolition of serfdom. The question of the peasants' committees remains to be dealt with. Actually, this does not even require to be mentioned in the programme. Why, comrades, do you bring forward a different principle each time? Sometimes you say that the programme should not be made concrete; at other times, however, you call for concretisation. Now you have gone so far as to include in the programme a point that has absolutely nothing Social-Democratic about it. There is no call to write into the programme what we read day after day in the liberal organs, *Novosti*, *Russkie*, *Vyedomosti*, etc. There would be no point in Lenin's including in the programme an article about the abolition of flogging and imprisonment. Comrade Lenin is very fond, in certain cases, of saying 'that is self-evident'. Here, though, where more than anywhere else that phrase would be in place, he finds it necessary, for some reason, to concretise the programme with references to the Urals, the Altai, and so on.

*Lange* proposed that this point include the words: 'in Caucasia and in other localities'.

*Trotsky* found inappropriate the insertion about the *khizani*. Nine-tenths of the members of the congress might not know anything about the situation of the *khizani* and would be voting *à discrétion*, solely on the basis of a demand by one person.

*Lenin*: There is nothing for Comrade Lieber to be surprised at. He demands that we employ a single, general criterion, but there is no such criterion. Sometimes one demand has to be advanced, sometimes another. We have no fixed pattern. Lieber claims that our demand for the abolition of serfdom coincides with the Liberals' demands. But the Liberals do not say how this demand is to be realised. We, for our part, say that it must be realised not by the bureaucracy but by the oppressed classes, and this means the way of revolution. Therein lies the radical difference between us and the Liberals, whose talk about changes and reforms 'befouls' the people's consciousness. If we were to set forth in concrete form all the demands for the abolition of serfdom, we should fill entire volumes. That is why we mention only the most important forms and variants of serfdom. Our committees in the different localities will bring forward and elaborate their particular demands, developing our general programme. *Trotsky's* remark that we cannot concern ourselves with local demands is wrong, in that the question of the *khizani* and the peasants

in temporary bondage is not just a local one. Besides, it has become known through writings on the agrarian question.

*Karsky:* I fully support Lenin's view. Such questions as these cannot be unknown to our comrades. We came to the congress with a report to give, and it is not our fault that we were not able to give it. I urge that we enumerate those regions where serfdom exists in particularly acute forms.

*Lieber:* I am obliged to speak a third time. I said that I do not regard myself as well-informed on the question at issue. Comrade Plekhanov and Lenin used this statement of mine so as to argue that, since I know nothing about them, I am not answerable for the way these questions are dealt with. But I think that it is the duty of those comrades who are competent on the questions, and who have composed the programme, to reply to the doubts and perplexities that have arisen. Lenin did not say where he gets his faith in the revolutionariness of the peasants' committees. I hear for the first time that the demands of oppressed classes are necessarily revolutionary. On the contrary, these demands are often reactionary. I ask the comrades, if they will deign to answer me, to explain, first, why they believe in the revolutionariness of peasants' committees, and, secondly, why they think the kulaks will not rob the other peasants? I am reminded of those cashboxes of which Comrade Plekhanov spoke. Again, why do we speak here about political bondage while saying nothing about economic bondage? What is the source of this confidence that the kulaks, who will rule the roost in the peasants' committees, will not betray the interests of the rest of the peasant population? Again, in the interests of the symmetry of the programme, we cannot take up a different standpoint each time: either all special demands should be included, or none.

*Martynov:* I have already shown the unacceptability of the point about returning the cut-off lands. I will now add only this. The authors of the draft themselves admitted, obliquely, that there is a hiatus in this article. Comrade Lenin moved an amendment to the general section of the agrarian programme: 'In order to eliminate the survivals of serfdom . . . we shall demand *first and foremost*, etc.' Lenin assures us that this is only an explanation of the programme, but I think it is a correction. Comrade Lenin interprets the words 'first and foremost' in the sense that we want first of all to abolish survivals of serfdom, and then we shall have left for dealing with rural affairs our general, maximum, socialist programme. This interpretation is false.



The corrected passage will read: 'In order to eliminate the survivals of serfdom we shall demand, first and foremost . . .' Evidently Lenin realised that the return of the cut-off lands was inadequate even for abolishing the survivals of serfdom — that in this matter returning the cut-off lands was merely the first step. *Iskra* wrote about the matter in that way in one of its issues, and Comrade Plekhanov wrote in the same way in his commentaries on the programme. In those articles it was said that we do not rule out the expropriation of other lands as well, we merely do not give it the importance assigned to it by the Socialist-Revolutionaries; it will not abolish rural capitalism but help it to flourish. In his article against Ryazanov, Comrade Plekhanov said that the extent to which expropriation will be carried out at the moment of revolution will depend merely on the relation between social forces. In view of all that, I see no grounds for tying our hands with a point about the cut-off lands. We should give the future peasants' committees one single directive of principle: they must hand over to the community itself those lands and appendages which serve, in the hands of the large landowners, as means for maintaining serfdom relations, independently of where and when these portions of land came into the possession of the large landowners.

*Popov:* I come back to the question, still not cleared up, of whether or not bondage exists among the Letts. I think that Lieber, Lenin, Lange and Lyadov are all right in what they say. The Lettish peasants were indeed emancipated without land, but nevertheless bondage relations do exist there. In those parts bondage is not a survival of serfdom. As far as I remember, Kautsky says somewhere that there is in German agriculture a category of proletarians who are exploited like serfs. Evidently, bondage is met with under capitalist relations too.

*A proposal to close the list of speakers was voted on, and received 17 votes, with 12 against. A second vote showed a majority of 18 to 16 and the list of speakers was closed.*

*Martov:* Lieber claimed that he had not been given answers to all his questions, but it does not follow from all his questions that he really wants clarification. Is, for example, his demand for deletion of the point about the cut-off lands dependent on whether the peasants' committees will or will not be revolutionary? Lieber has evidently fallen into the same misunderstanding as any of the Anarchists who

ask us what makes us think the Zemsky Sobor will be revolutionary. The Zemsky Sobor will undoubtedly be revolutionary, but its degree of revolutionariness will not satisfy us, and from its first days we shall probably have to convict it of being reactionary. General political and economic questions will be decided in general institutions, and the detailed clarification of these decisions will be entrusted to local institutions. How far the peasants' committees will be revolutionary is hard to foresee at present. But we must exert every effort to ensure that they are revolutionary. We must take the class struggle into the countryside and organise the rural proletariat: then the influence of Social-Democracy will certainly be reflected in the peasants' committees. It is futile for Lieber to confront us with the choice either to include all details or none. There are important details and inessential ones. But it is necessary to make mention of the most backward forms of peasant relations. Backwardness of the forms of production in agriculture often gives rise to bondage relations. There is hardly a single country where no bondage can be found. Our Article 4 does not finally do away with serfdom relations but merely weakens them.

*Makhov:* Mention is made here of 'peasants' committees'. This expression is not satisfactory, since an entire third of the rural population do not belong to the peasant estate.

*Lenin:* Comrade Lieber proposed deletion of the point about the cut-off lands, on the sole grounds that he does not like the peasant committees. That is strange. Since we have agreed on the fundamental question, namely, that the cut-off lands keep the peasants in bondage, the establishment of committees is only a detail, and to reject the entire point on account of that would be illogical. It is strange, too, to hear the question asked: How are we to influence the peasant committees? I hope that the Social-Democrats will be able when that time comes to organise congresses with less difficulty, and at such congresses to reach agreement on how to act in each particular case.

*Akselrod* proposed that the section dealing with peasants' committees be shifted to the end of the article. It is normal to speak first of the end and then of the means.

*Lange:* There are many localities where the peasants are landless. So we ought not to confine ourselves to the cut-off lands, but should add: 'and also those lands which serve this purpose'.

*Rusov* moved an amendment by which committees would be set up everywhere that semi-serfdom relations existed, and not only where there were cut-off lands. Further, it should be added that the peasants' committees are to abolish not only the cut-off lands but also all conditions of bondage in general. Why should the hands of the peasants' committees be tied? Perhaps they might expropriate particular estates.

*All the amendments to this paragraph were put to the vote.*

*Kostrov's amendment was adopted, with 27 votes.*

*Bekov's amendment was rejected. This would have made point (b) read: 'to suppress survivals of serfdom relations existing in the Urals, the Western Territory and Caucasia (temporary bondsmen, *khizani*, etc.) and in other regions of the country'.*

*Martynov's amendment was rejected. This would have made point (a) read: 'to hand over to the rural communities those lands and appendages which serve, in the hands of the large landowners, as means of maintaining semi-serfdom relations'.*

*Lange's amendment was rejected. This proposed to replace the word 'survivals' by 'vestiges' and the word 'existing' by 'existent'. Lange's second amendment, proposing that the words: 'and in Caucasia' be inserted before 'and in other regions of the country' was also rejected.*

*Lange's third amendment was rejected. This proposed that Article 4 should read: 'setting-up of peasants' committees to suppress and weaken everything that gives rise to the enslavement of the peasantry and thereby maintains the old pre-Reform relations': '(a), instead of 'those lands which were cut off' — 'those of the lands cut off when serfdom was abolished which serve in the hands of the landlords as an instrument for enslaving the peasants,' and '(b) expropriation at the discretion of the peasants' committees of all other lands (ponds, roads, etc.) which serve, like most of the cut-off lands, as a weapon for enslavement'.*

*Rusov's amendment was rejected. This ran: 'Setting-up of peasant committees to abolish serfdom relations existing in certain parts of the country and also conditions which serve as instruments in the hands of the landlords for imposing bonds of serfdom (cut-off lands, the *khi-zani* system, etc.)'. Lieber's amendment was abolished. This proposed,*

*first, that Article 4 read: 'return to the rural communities,' etc., and, secondly, that point (b) be deleted.*

*Akselrod withdrew his amendment.*

*Article 4, as amended by Kostrov, was adopted as a whole, by a majority of 30 to 1. The congress proceeded to discuss Article 5.*

*Kostrov:* Complaining to the courts means a whole long-drawn out procedure. It seems to me it would be better to set up *conseils de prud'hommes*.<sup>3</sup>

*Lenin:* Article 5 is linked with Article 16 of the workers' programme. This does in fact propose courts composed equally of workers and employers: we must demand special representation for the agricultural labourers and the poorest peasantry.

*Martov:* I ask this question: Is it a good idea to make the industrial courts apply to the agricultural proletariat when the latter still needs to be organised? Perhaps it may prove more appropriate to bring in jury courts. For that reason I favour leaving the vague formulation which we have in the programme.

*Lieber:* Perhaps, when rent-payments are being decided, resort could be had to the fixing of rates by a court? I should suggest, therefore: to grant the courts the right to determine rents.

*Lenin:* I think this is undesirable, since it will broaden excessively the competence of the courts. We aim at reducing rents, and fixing of rates of payment by the courts might enable landowners to appeal to accomplished facts in order to demonstrate the justice of their claims. Reducing rents rules out any idea of increasing them. Kautsky, speaking about Ireland, says that the introduction of industrial tribunals has produced some results there.

*Article 5 was put to the vote and approved by a majority of 35, with 11 abstentions.*

*The first paragraph of the concluding part of the programme was read.*

*Makhov:* What does it mean, 'to support oppositional and revolutionary movements'? If it means that we are to promote their development, then I am absolutely against. Our only revolutionary class is the proletariat: the rest are of no account, they are mere

hangers-on. [*General laughter.*] . . . Yes, they are mere hangers-on and only out to reap the benefits. I am against supporting them. We shall be pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for them.

*Akselrod:* We have no revolutionary parties, but we do have oppositional elements, and we must make use of them for our own purposes.

*Lieber:* I am confused by the lack of precision in one place, where it says: 'every oppositional movement'. Not every oppositional movement acts in the same direction as the proletariat. For instance, take Sharapov.<sup>4</sup> Regarding such reactionary elements we have, to be sure, reservations enough. But there is another sort of reactionary, who talks about the trusteeship exercised by the landlords, about the good old days. Nothing is said about him. Also, it is not stated in this paragraph that the attitude recommended in relation to these trends is to apply only in the period before the conquest of political freedom. After the fall of the autocracy other trends will appear: agrarian trends, for example, which in some cases will act in the same direction as the proletariat.

*Plekhanov:* The phrase being discussed has been taken almost word for word from the Communist Manifesto. We considered it useful to repeat this expression in our programme because we wanted to bring out the difference between our views and those of the Narodniks and the Utopian Socialists. The Narodniks and the Utopian Socialists declared themselves against the political struggle of the bourgeoisie because they were convinced that the triumph of political freedom would strengthen the economic domination of the bourgeoisie. We are ready to support this movement because it facilitates our own struggle against the existing political order. But while supporting them we — as is also said in the Communist Manifesto — do not for a moment refrain from developing the workers' awareness of the antagonism between their interests and those of the bourgeoisie. And that is why our support for the bourgeoisie does not involve any risk for us.

*Starover:* Comrade Lieber makes a bad mistake when he assumes that our draft programme does not say, precisely and clearly, *what sort of* oppositional or revolutionary movements we are to support. No, it is stated in this draft that we support 'every movement directed against the existing social and political order in Russia' — in other words, that our support is given only to movements aimed at over-

throwing the autocracy. Consequently, all Comrade Lieber's references to the Agrarians in Germany, or to Mr Sharapov in Russia, fall to the ground. Sulking Agrarians may be very sharp in their criticism, they may attack very resolutely a particular minister or a particular government bill, or even the entire direction followed by government policy at a certain moment, but they remain on the terrain of the existing political order. They are conservatives. 'The Slavophiles', says Comrade Lieber. But the Slavophiles attacked only the bureaucratic 'barrier' which had been raised between the Tsar and the people, distorting the image of the autocracy — the autocracy itself was for them something inviolable.

*Glebov* proposed to say, instead of 'police and official tutelage', 'police and social-estate tutelage'.

*Lieber* proposed putting: 'every progressive-oppositional and revolutionary movement'.

*Both amendments were voted on and rejected.*

*Makhov* proposed that the word 'oppositional' be deleted, adducing the following arguments. We must support every revolutionary movement, whereas, for example, the peasants' wars in the Reformation period were reactionary in character, though they were an oppositional movement just like our own peasant movements. I think Marx does not speak of 'oppositional movements', so that my proposal is in accordance with the spirit of Marx's teaching.

*Starover*: Why tie our hands in relation to oppositional trends which act in the same direction as the revolutionary proletariat?

*Lyadov*: The only revolutionary class is the proletariat; the peasants' wars were not revolutionary.

*Martynov*: I agree with Starover. But what movements do possess a revolutionary character? Only democratic ones. If a movement is merely a 'sulk' we don't have to support it. Therefore I propose an amendment: to put the word 'democratic' in front of 'oppositional'. *Iskra* expressed itself in that sense in the article: 'About urban self-government'. If the oppositionists want a compromise, such as, for example, a restriction based on a property qualification, then we must not support them.

*Plekhanov*: I do not understand what it is, actually, that we are

arguing about. Comrade Martynov says we must support only democratic movements. Well, and what about the liberal movements? Are we to oppose them? We cannot do that, behaving like the German 'True Socialists' whom Marx ridicules in the Communist Manifesto. Comrade Martynov says we must not support the liberals, and explains why not. We must criticise them, expose their half-heartedness. That is true. But we must do that also where the so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries are concerned. We must expose their narrowness, their limitedness; we must show the proletariat that only the Social-Democratic movement is truly revolutionary nowadays. But, while exposing the narrowness and limitations of all movements other than the Social-Democratic, it is our duty to explain to the proletariat that even a constitution which does not confer universal suffrage would be a step forward compared with absolutism, and that therefore it should not prefer the existing order to such a constitution. I repeat, supporting a movement directed against the existing order does not mean telling the proletariat that such a movement is sufficiently broad in scope, and this is not in any way stated in our programme.

*Martynov:* There can be no doubt that, as regards the liberals, we differ from the old Narodniks on two essential points. First, we are not afraid of a bourgeois constitution but, on the contrary, see this as a very great and unavoidable step forward. Secondly, we are not unaware of the strength of the liberals, because we see in them the representatives of certain strata of the bourgeoisie which will inevitably become the rulers of a liberated Russia. Since we have to develop the political awareness of the proletariat we must, obviously, acquaint it with the nature of the impending revolution and with the relation between social forces in this revolution, and so we must acquaint it also with the liberal movement. But we must support oppositional movements only in so far as they are revolutionary, or pursue the same immediate aim as ourselves, namely, the conquest of democratic freedom. But in so far as the liberal movement is already now, in the persons of the Yevreinovs,<sup>5</sup> taking its stand between revolution and reaction, in so far as it is seeking, through a compromise, to check the progress of the revolutionary movement, we must fight against the liberal parties for our sphere of influence, for influence over the democratic movement.

In view of all this, I propose that in the paragraph under discussion we insert before the word 'oppositional' the word 'democratic'.

*Trotsky:* There can be no doubt that the developed and revolutionised proletariat exercises a revolutionary effect in a purely spontaneous way upon other social classes and strata . . . There can be no doubt that the rise of a broad political movement among the students, and the appearance of the so-called 'SRs', and also the advance of the liberal opposition — all these phenomena which have been features of the last five years, have grown from the soil provided by the movement of the Russian proletariat. But the support which the proletariat has accorded and is according to other oppositional movements is determined by the bare fact of the existence of the labour movement. This support must now become an instrument of our Party's tactics. What had been done spontaneously must be done consciously . . . [*Martynov:* 'But how, in what way?'] I am just about to give an example. When Martynov — not you, but your namesake, Martynov of the Voronezh Agricultural Committee — spoke in favour of a constitution, he was arrested. We must make this fact known to all. We must inform the masses of the people of the significance and nature of the demands put forward by the oppositionist Martynovs. Thereby we shall give political weight to the declarations of these Martynovs. The constitutional demands of the Zemstvo opposition will thus prove to be a *small part* of the demands of the people as a whole. Bringing this idea to the proletariat means at one and the same time *demarcating* our Party from all other oppositional and revolutionary movements and also *supporting* these movements. That is the sort of support which revolutionary Martynovs ought to give to oppositionist Martynovs.

*The list of speakers was closed.*

*Lieber:* Trotsky explained the matter in such a way that no Social-Democrat will agree with him. It has been observed that in our proclamations, while attacking the autocracy, we forget about the labour movement and its class character. Yes, we need to support a movement against the autocratic order but the best form of support consists in sharpening up the character of the class movement of the proletariat. It is not by printing the speech of Comrade Martynov's Zemstvo namesake that we help the class movement of the proletariat to develop, but by telling about his illegal arrest, and how he behaved. We must support the liberals by urging them on with criticism. Direct support to oppositional movements is harmful. At that rate, why



don't we distribute *Osvobozhdenie*? Turning every protest into a revolutionary protest, that's the form our support should take.

*Strakhov*: One thing or the other — either the Social-Democratic movement is to stand at the head of the revolutionary movement, or it is not. If it is, then we must support every movement hostile to the tutelage of the police and officialdom. To me, therefore, the point is perfectly clear. I would merely suggest adding: 'which reconcile themselves to the tutelage by the police and officialdom, which so greatly restricts the independence of the working class'.

*Makhov*: The word 'revolutionary' is quite adequate. Lyadov is wrong when he says that only the proletariat is revolutionary. While essentially it is reactionary, the bourgeoisie is often revolutionary — for example, in the struggle against feudalism and its survivals. But there are some groups which are always reactionary — such are the handicraftsmen. I am against the agrarian programme and I fear what the great mass of the peasantry may do. There are certain groups whose ideal is Caesarism.

*Plekhanov*: I can be brief, because the objections we have just heard have contributed little that is new. Comrade Martynov mentioned that there are oppositional strata, which may take up a position between the revolution and the present order of things. He told us that we must expose these strata before the proletariat. I ask, is it worth uttering such well-known truths at a congress which needs to economise its time? The first item in all propaganda explaining to the proletariat the need for our Party must be criticism of all other, non-Social-Democratic, revolutionary and oppositional parties. Refraining from such criticisms would mean signing our own death warrant. If the men of the Mountain of 1793 were to rise from their graves today we should have to criticise them, too, from the standpoint of our principles. But that does not mean that we ought not to support them in their struggle against the prevailing order. Comrade Martynov said that we must counterpose ourselves to all the bourgeois parties: that is indisputable. The whole question lies in how we are to go about it. The Utopian Socialists — for example, the so-called 'True' Socialists, in Germany — counterposed themselves to all the bourgeois parties by telling the proletariat that it had no need of bourgeois political freedom. Saying this meant counterposing themselves to the liberal bourgeoisie and supporting not them but the

police state. And our Narodniks and subjectivists counterposed themselves to the liberal bourgeoisie in exactly the same way. We counterpose ourselves in a different way. We support the liberal bourgeoisie by showing the proletariat that the political freedom which the liberal bourgeoisie will give it is not useless but inadequate, and that it must therefore take up arms itself in order to win a number of rights that it needs to possess.

I will explain my idea by means of an example. Imagine a policeman, the embodiment of the police state, and along with him, imagine a bourgeois who is struggling with this policeman, striving to win some rights for himself, but not for the working class, and, finally, imagine a proletarian who is watching the fight between the bourgeois and the policeman and wondering: 'What should I do?' The reply of the Utopian Socialists was: 'Do not get mixed up in this fight, it is a family quarrel between your enemies, and whichever of them wins, you will gain nothing, or you may even lose a great deal.' We, from the standpoint of modern scientific socialism, say to the proletariat: the outcome of this struggle is not a matter of indifference to you — every blow that the policeman gets from the bourgeois is a step forward along the path of progress and is therefore to your advantage. But, in his fight with the policeman, the bourgeois is thinking not of you but of himself, and moreover, cannot cope with the policeman, so you must yourself enter the fray, armed to the teeth, as the French say, so as not only to knock down the policeman but also to be in a position to rebuff the bourgeois when he wants to deprive you of the fruits of victory. That's all. If, as Comrade Lieber says is the case, the antagonism of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is insufficiently brought out in our Party's proclamations, we will talk about that when we come to discuss our Party press. This reproach has nothing whatsoever to do with the programme. And in any case it is not the editorial board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*, who drafted the programme, that can be suspected of trying to gloss over the differences that exist between us and other parties. What were we blamed for so often in the press, in letters and at meetings? For having too pronounced a penchant for polemics. But why did we have that penchant? Because we set ourselves the task of beating with an intellectual cudgel, as Lassalle puts it, everyone who stands between the proletariat and clear proletarian class-consciousness. That being so, there are no grounds for fearing any inclination on our part towards compromise. From the first word to the last, our draft programme is truly

revolutionary, in the spirit of Marx and Engels, and that is why you can accept it with a perfectly quiet conscience.

*The amendments moved by Strakhov, Martynov, Makhov and Lieber were voted on and rejected. These proposed, first, to add 'progressive' before 'oppositional', and, secondly, to add after the word 'order': 'at the same time counterposing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to this opposition, and rejecting . . .'*

*The whole paragraph was adopted by a majority of those voting: there were a few abstentions.*

*The last paragraph of the programme was read.*

Strakhov proposed that after the words 'overthrow of the autocracy' there should appear: 'and its replacement by sovereignty of the people. For this reason the RSDLP puts forward as its first political demand the convening of a constituent assembly, freely elected by the whole people.' He justified this proposal by saying that the convening of a constituent assembly would still not ensure the realisation of our aims — only sovereignty of the people would guarantee their triumph.

Martov: I regard this amendment as superfluous, since all the proposals in the Party programme will be implemented *only* when a constituent assembly has been convened.

Starover proposed that 'considers' be substituted for 'is firmly convinced that'.

Plekhanov proposed that there be inserted the words: 'and its replacement by sovereignty of the people'.

Martov opposed Plekhanov's amendment. Repetition of 'sovereignty of the people' would seem odd here.

Akimov: I would like someone to explain to me what is implied by the expression 'sovereignty of the people'. Is it the power that will be won by us in the impending revolution, or is it that which will result from the social revolution? If the former — and I think it is the former that is meant — how are we to combine with this the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat? Are we going to aim to establish that dictatorship in order to abrogate the sovereignty of the people?

Gusev: The entire point says nothing that has not already been said

in the programme. If some ideas are emphasised, there is adequate reason for doing that.

*Strakhov*: I should like to say that Plekhanov's formulation of 'sovereignty of the people' (*narodnoye samoderzhaviye*) is ill-conceived — it bows to Narodism.

*Trotsky*: I want to reply to Akimov. Under sovereignty of 'the people', dictatorship is wielded by the bourgeoisie. When the socialists win the majority, then there begins the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

*Gorin*: Like Martov, I find it extremely inappropriate to speak here of 'sovereignty of the people'.

*Plekhanov* withdrew his amendment.

*The amendments by Strakhov and Starover were voted on. The congress rejected both.*

*The last paragraph of the programme was adopted.*

*Next, the rapporteur of the programme commission, Yegorov, was called upon to speak about Article 7 of the general programme, which had been returned to the commission.*

*Yegorov*: The commission decided as follows. (1) At the end of Article 6 to add the words 'and of language'. (2) To insert a new paragraph: 'The right of the population to receive education in their mother-tongue; the right of every citizen to express himself in his mother-tongue at meetings and in public and state institutions.' (3) To delete from Article 11 the phrase concerning language.

*Goldblatt*: The second point does not satisfy me. At the previous session it was said that the words 'and of language' were to be left only if the rest was rejected.

*Karsky*: I want to point out some lack of precision in the formulations. In Caucasia we already have the right to use our mother-tongues. That is not the point. In my view, this formulation ought to embrace something bigger. The state or public institutions which receive taxes and dues from the population ought to provide the resources for building these schools. I would mention one omission:

we ought to say that court proceedings should be conducted in the mother-tongue — at the lower instances at least.

*Kostrov* agreed with *Karsky*.

*Plekhanov*: The defects mentioned by Goldblatt and *Karsky* would be eliminated, I think, by my amendment which reads: 'ensured by creation, at the expense of the state and the organs of self-government, of the schools needed for this purpose'.

*Karsky*: In our part of the country the towns already have the right to set up their own schools, but in the villages the mother-tongue is being squeezed out, just as in those educational institutions in the towns which have been set up at the expense of the state.

*Bekov*: That isn't true. There are only a few schools for the nobility where teaching is carried on in the mother-tongue. Comrade *Karsky* must have forgotten the barbarous methods that were used to shut down the Armenian schools — that was a real epic of the Tsarist autocracy. By our programme the population are guaranteed the right to speak their mother-tongue and also extensive regional self-government: that is guarantee enough. What else is there to be said? After all, the programme is not being written for Caucasia.

*The point was approved by the congress in the form in which the commission had worked it, with a few amendments (see Article 8: general political demands of the programme). The commission's first proposal was rejected, and the third accepted. The congress then, voting by roll-call, adopted the programme as a whole. Those persons who were present with consultative voice also took part in the voting. The programme was adopted by all present with the exception of Comrade Akimov, who abstained and in this connection submitted the following statement:*

'When the programme was voted on as a whole I abstained from voting, and I wish to explain this abstention.

'Objecting to the speech I made in the general discussion of the programme, Comrade *Plekhanov* said that I mistakenly considered the basic idea of the draft to be Lenin's view of the proletariat as being merely the milieu in which the Social-Democratic movement works, and that in fact the basic idea of the draft was Marx's view of the laws of development of society, which *Plekhanov* summarised in the expressions used in the preface to *Zur Kritik*.

‘This was, in my opinion, not a serious objection, since I do not deny that the draft is a Social-Democratic programme and, to the extent that the fundamental positions of Social-Democracy are contained in the programme, I agree with it, and that is why I cannot vote against it. But I cannot vote for it, either, because in several very important sections the draft deviates from the Western-European Social-Democratic programmes, and yet the congress sanctioned these deviations, hardly discussing the section of the programme dealing with principles, and not allowing those delegates who did not agree with the draft to defend their views.

‘Contrary to the congress standing orders, and contrary to the statement made by the chairman, after which the congress approved the termination of general discussion, members of the congress were deprived of the right to discuss amendments when voting on the programme point by point.

‘In fact, each member was allowed five minutes altogether for each point, and could speak only once on each point. To show that in this length of time it was physically impossible to develop one’s views, I will refer merely to the question of the “filling up” of the proletariat with socialism (*Erfüllungstheorie*). The congress adopted the formulation given in the draft (Article 9), thereby adopting an ultra-Kautskyan point of view and rejecting the views of Adler, which were confirmed by the Austrian Party Congress and found expression in the Vienna Programme.

‘The comrades in Russia could not be sufficiently familiar with the proceedings of the Vienna Congress and with a number of articles in *Neue Zeit*, *Vorwärts* and the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* which prepared and summarised the decisions taken by our Austrian comrades on this question, and it would have been frivolous to try and deal with this question in five minutes.

‘In just the same way the problem of impoverishment (*Verelendungstheorie*)<sup>6</sup> was settled in our programme in a way that contradicted the Vienna Programme and the latest works of Western-European Social-Democratic literature, and, in particular, the writings of Kautsky and Bebel. The way this question is decided sets a clear-cut mark on all manifestations of the activity of Social-Democracy, its political and economic struggle. It was impossible to set out my ideas in opposition to this point, too, in five minutes.

‘But that is not enough. Not one person of conviction can be satisfied with a brief résumé of his opinion, he should have the right to

defend his views. Yet the congress refused the right to speak a second time in reply to objections which frequently distorted the ideas of the speaker. How useless it was, under such conditions, to expound one's views is shown by the following example.

'Comrade Lieber drew the attention of the congress to the need for the expression "to the extent that" in the passage of the draft dealing with the attitude of the Social-Democrats to other strata of the people. Comrade Plekhanov replying to him, said that this expression was used in the corresponding passage in the Communist Manifesto. Actually, this is not so. This expression is not to be found in the Manifesto and appears only in Plekhanov's inaccurate translation of the Manifesto into Russian.<sup>7</sup> Yet Comrade Lieber was not able to deal with Plekhanov's objection on this most important question, because he could not speak a second time.

'Thus the congress finished extraordinarily quickly with the part of the programme dealing with principles, devoting only one session to general discussion of it and one to voting on it, that is, altogether, one day.

'Under these circumstances I could not take part in the discussion of the programme, so I cannot vote for it.'

*Chairman:* This is not true. Comrade Akimov submitted 21 amendments to the commission — allow five minutes for each one — and that took up no small amount of time. As regards the rest of the programme, which the commission did not examine and which was discussed *in pleno*, the conditions under which it was discussed are known to you all. Every delegate had the right to speak three times, for ten minutes, on each point. Comrade Akimov spoke several times. The standing orders were approved by the majority of the congress.

*After it had been resolved to express gratitude to the editorial board of Iskra for having produced the draft programme, the chairman spoke:*

*Plekhanov:* Comrades, the Party of the conscious proletariat, the Russian Social-Democratic Party, now has its programme. Rather numerous objections were made to some parts of it. Those comrades with whose objections the congress did not agree remain subject to the decision of the majority. Members of our Party are obliged to accept its programme. This does not mean, of course, that a programme, once adopted, cannot be criticised. We have recognised, do recognise, and will continue to recognise, freedom of criticism. But whoever

wishes to remain a member of our Party must remain, even in his criticism, on the terrain of the programme. Be that as it may, the problem which has occupied us for so long has been disposed of, and we can say, with legitimate pride that the programme we have adopted furnishes our proletariat with a durable and dependable weapon for the struggle against its enemies.

*The session was closed*



## Twenty-Second Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates, and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The next subject for discussion was the Party's organisational rules. The resolution serving as introduction to the rules was read: 'The Party's general rules are binding on all sections of the Party, with the exception of those points which are provided for in special appendices to the rules defining the relation of sections to the Party.'*

*Posadovsky proposed a different wording, which was adopted [see the Party Rules].*

*Lieber: I shall not speak about the substance of the question. The resolution cannot be adopted, since it is impossible to adopt general points without knowing what exceptions will be approved subsequently.*

*Martov: I don't know what Comrade Lieber is talking about. When we have passed the resolution we shall proceed to discuss each point in the rules separately, and we shall discuss them on the basis of the single principle which we have adopted already. Our position of principle has been decided, and I think it will be more convenient for the Bund to consider first of all the general rules for the Party, since it will be able to explain its own position of principle. I would recall to Comrade Lieber that our organisational principle is not broad autonomy but strict centralisation.*

*Goldblatt: Martov's arguments are wrong both in content and in form. Formally, we have the right to demand that our rules be discussed under item 6 of the agenda, as has already been decided, and, as regards content, it is important to us that the position of the Bund be clear and well-defined. We are asked to break up the Bund's rules into sections and to connect these separate sections with the*

separate points of the general Party rules. But we cannot do this since in our rules there are points which cannot be made to coincide with any of the points in the general Party rules. If this proposal is adopted, then we shall have to abstain from participating in the discussion of the general Party rules until our own rules have been discussed.

*Martov (on a point of order):* On whose behalf is Comrade Goldblatt speaking? What are we to understand by 'we'?

*Akimov:* It seems to me impossible that such a question should be put. We are dealing not with some corporation or other but with delegates, each of whom, of course, speaks for himself.

*Martov:* If the Bund agrees with Akimov, then on behalf of what 'we' is Goldblatt speaking?

*Lieber:* It would be out of place to have an interrogation. If it suits the congress then we shall, of course, answer this question.

*Plekhanov:* I am not satisfied with Lieber's answer. If we cannot ask questions then this amounts to saying that the assumption is correct . . . Who, then, are the 'we' on whose behalf the Bund speaks? We are anxious to know this, because we accord particular attention to the delegation of the Bund.

*The congress decided to ask the Bund to make a statement on this matter.*

*Lieber:* I continue to find the whole of this incident out of place. But since an answer is asked for, we will give it. We ask, and we insist, that our rules be discussed first, not because they constitute an amendment but because we take our stand on positions that are different in principle, and we need to get clear on the attitude of the congress to the principles which guide us. We asked long ago that the rules of the Bund be discussed. The congress rejected this request. I again direct the attention of the congress to this irregular attitude taken towards our demands. I give notice that we shall move amendments only in relation to the general rules.

*Lange:* The Bund proposed that we defer discussion of the general Party rules. This is not convenient, because we do not know the general standpoint from which we shall have to consider the particular rules of the Bund.

*Trotsky:* We are not avoiding a discussion of the rules of the Bund. We are working out a procedure for discussion. We have to decide on

the general rules of the Party and then, from that standpoint, to determine the place of the Bund in the Party. The Party does not exist for the Bund, but the Bund for the Party.

*Yegorov:* I agree with what Lange said. But he did not understand what it was that the Bund wanted, whereas I consider that the Bund is wrong. We do not in the least wish to fragment the rules of the Bund. We shall discuss them as a whole, but only after we have discussed the Party rules.

*Lieber:* I agree neither with Comrade Yegorov nor with Comrade Trotsky. I warn the congress against attempts to interpret our words maliciously and tendentiously . . .

*The Chairman* called the speaker to order.

*Lieber (continuing):* I say that Trotsky's interpretation is not in accordance with the truth. We are accused of saying that the Party exists for the Bund. This is untrue. We stand on two positions of principle which differ from each other. We are told that the principle on which the majority takes its stand is autonomy, and those who say this think they have said something. Yet the question is, to whom do they want to apply autonomy? We put forward our rules not as something higher than the Party rules but only as something that should be discussed first when we discuss the Party rules. Since there is a difference of principle between us, then, if you are men of principle, you will clarify these principles.

*Lenin:* I do not know if I am justified in pointing out to the congress something that is self-evident. It is unheard-of that the part should come before the whole.

*The list of speakers was closed.*

*Gorin:* I agree with Trotsky, and I think that the Bund agree with him too. Essentially, they are putting forward their own draft rules for the Party. This is an infringement of the agenda. We already have a draft, which we are discussing.

*Lieber:* I have to say that we shall take part in the discussion of the rules, but we reserve the right to speak, at the right time, about the exceptions concerning the Bund.

*Glebov*, the rapporteur of the rules commission, said that votes in

the commission were so divided that the first article of the rules was presented in two different formulations [*see the rules and Lenin's resolution*].\*

*Yegorov* said that the existence of two tendencies in the definition of the concept 'Party' had become apparent. Lenin's formulation narrowed the concept, whereas *Martov's* [*see the Rules*] broadened it to the point of opening the door to 'democratism'. We must not forget that, while we are an underground organisation, we are also linked with the broad masses. I fear that after saying A we may have to say B.

*Akselrod*: I think that we must draw a distinction between the concepts 'Party' and 'organisation'. These two concepts are being confused here. And the confusion is dangerous. Let me recall the strictly secret and centralised organisations of the past: *Zemlya i Volya* and *Narodnaya Volya*. Around *Zemlya i Volya* were grouped a large number of people who did not belong to the organisation but who helped it in one way or another and who were regarded as Party members. *Narodnaya Volya* was even more discriminating, but it held to the same principle. This principle should be even more strictly observed in the Social-Democratic organisation. And, indeed, let us take for example, a professor who regards himself as a Social-Democrat and declares himself as such. If we adopt Lenin's formula we shall be throwing overboard a section of those who, even if they cannot be directly admitted to an organisation, are nevertheless Party members. First and foremost we are, of course, creating an organisation of the most active elements of the Party, an organisation of revolutionaries; but, since we are the party of a class, we must take care not to leave outside the Party ranks people who consciously, though perhaps not very actively, associate themselves with that Party.

*Martov*: The question we are discussing is an extremely important one. The more we wish to be revolutionaries, the more acute the attention we must give to the point raised by Comrade Akselrod. We are those who give conscious expression to an unconscious process. The Party organisation is the flywheel that sets in motion the work of

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\* Lenin's resolution: 'A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts its programme and supports the Party by personal participation in one of the party organisations.'

the Party in our sense of the word. The question of rights and duties is decided by the statement: 'there is the work you have to do'. I am not afraid of a 'conspiratorial' organisation. The rights of a Party member, according to our project, consist of bringing his views and desires to the attention of the centre. There is another right, to form public opinion, and the more the 'conspirators' take account of this opinion the less danger will arise from the question of 'rights'. Let there be many organisations: they must increase. They cannot join the Party organisation, but the Party cannot get on without them. The more widespread the title of Party member the better. We could only rejoice if every striker, every demonstrator, answering for his actions, could proclaim himself a Party member. For me a conspiratorial organisation only has meaning when it is enveloped by a broad Social-Democratic working-class party.

*Kostrov* spoke of the two trends which had become apparent in the interpretation of the concept 'Party' and of the fact that organisation and Party were not the same thing, and proposed to unite the two formulations.

*Posadovsky*: Two points of view on the tasks of the Party have already been defined. One restricts the Party's scope, the other broadens it. It is impossible to confine the sum-total of Party members to the sum-total of conspirators, but the expression 'under the control' defines inner-Party relations too vaguely, and I propose that it be replaced by the expression 'under the direction of'.

*Karsky* considered that the difference between the formulations was very important. The first formulation deprived all those who did not personally participate in a direct way in an organisation of the possibility not only of regarding themselves as Party members but also, what was much more important, of helping to the best of their ability. The second formulation eliminated this disadvantage. I support it, but I agree with Comrade Posadovsky that the words: 'under the control of' should be replaced by 'under the direction of'.

*Brouckère*: In discussing the first paragraph of the rules we have entered upon a question of very great importance — the organisational question. I disagree with the rules as a whole and with their entire spirit. I stand for the type of organisational system on which that local organisation is constructed to which I belong — the Peters-

burg Committee of the Union of Struggle — and I should like this to apply also in the way the Party is organised.

This year, organisational work was one of the principal and, in my view, most productive tasks carried out by the Committee. By the end of the year we had worked out a form of organisation which we regard as entirely good, and which I would call perfect but for the fact that new problems have arisen before us, as before all live organisations. Even before the split, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement made everyone aware of the need for centralisation, but whereas the majority of the committee, and one of the trends in the Petersburg Committee, decided in favour of a conspiratorial type of centralisation, like *Narodnaya Volya*, we stood and stand for the right of every active member of the organisation to influence the work of the Committee, the right, corresponding to his duties, to influence, directly or indirectly, elections to the Central Committee and to area committees. We can now say that we have no members without rights, just as there are none without duties. As for those sympathisers who from time to time, in one way or another, render us services, they cannot be regarded as members, since in our Party there can only be active members. To these sympathisers we allow the right to call themselves Social-Democrats and sympathisers with the Social-Democratic Party, a right of which, incidentally, we cannot deprive them, and also we can graciously grant them the right, which Comrade Martov proposed to give all Party members as their only right, apart from Party administration — the right to express their opinion, and not only to do this among themselves but also to bring it to the attention of the CC. All active members belong to one or other section of the organisation (committee groups, etc.), covering every form of work which every organisation has to carry out.

This year's experience has convinced us that the right to influence the conduct of the Party is a mighty force for unity, excluding all possibility of discontent within the organisation, and so all possibility of a split. It fosters interest in the work, draws people into Party life, and develops all active forces. Only when these rights obtain is the Central Committee the real spokesman of the views of all working members and so of the whole organisation, and only then does it act in agreement with them. The strength of an organisation lies not only in the duties it imposes on its members but also in the rights which it confers upon them. This must apply in the Party, too. All its active members must have rights; rights cannot be given only to the active

members, active members cannot be unconnected with the organisation. This connection must be regulated. I stand, therefore, for that formulation by which all members must belong to one of the organisations. As regards democratism, it cannot, of course, in itself frighten any conscious Social-Democrat. But Comrade Martov speaks of 'so-called democratism', something thought up in the heat of polemic, democratism carried to absurd lengths, which, like anything carried to an absurdity, is, of course, absurd, and therefore nonsense, as Comrade Martov put it, and I agree with him in this, but I consider that the type which he advocated is also a fantastic and nonsensical fabrication.

*Trotsky:* I fear that Lenin's formula will create a fictitious organisation, one which will merely give its members a *qualification* but will not serve as a means for Party work. There will be created 'fighting organisations' such as the Tomsk organisation, the rules of which some of us have read, the aim, essence and basis of which will be not some practical task but the *rules* of the organisation themselves.

*Lenin* spoke briefly in defence of his formulation, stressing in particular that it provided a stimulus: 'Organise!' It should not be supposed that Party organisations must consist solely of professional revolutionaries. We need the most diverse organisations of all types, ranks and shades, beginning with extremely narrow and secret ones and ending with very broad, free *lose Organisationen*. Endorsement by the Central Committee was an essential condition for a Party organisation to be considered such.

*Lyadov* considered that it was necessary to add the requirement of giving material support to the Party, as he thought it extremely important to specify in this way, at least, a sign that someone belonged to an organisation.

*Lieber:* I fully agree with Comrades Akselrod and Martov. They have put the matter correctly. Comrade Lenin has refuted nothing and proved nothing. I draw the attention of the congress to a point that nobody has mentioned. There are Social-Democrats who accept the programme but who cannot and do not wish to join the organisation, as they consider that they can be of more use by remaining outside it. The Party must make use of these elements, for their help is often substantial. Comrade Lenin mixes up the question of organisa-

tion with that of particular persons. Our task is not merely to organise an organisation, we can and must organise a party.

*Popov:* After listening to the speeches of Comrade Martov and Akselrod I did not want to say anything more about this question, but now, after Comrade Lenin's speech which, as I observed, troubled comrades' minds, I rise to speak again so as once more to put the question as it was put by Comrade Martov. The two drafts differ in the following words: Comrade Lenin's says 'personal participation', while Comrade Martov's says 'personal assistance'. Both Lenin and Martov appreciate the importance of the organisational meaning of this point. As Comrade Martov has said, he has introduced this point in order to draw into the Party those elements which are at present neither in nor out of it. Comrade Lenin pursues, so he says, the same aim. He is told: you draw too narrowly the limits of the Party, confusing it with a secret organisation. He replies: thereby I provide a stimulus to organisation. Trotsky, foreseeing this, said: you will create hollow organisations. Lenin answers: that cannot happen, because all organisations have to be confirmed by the Central Committee. The CC, like 'a spirit that is present everywhere and is everywhere the same' [*Lenin:* 'A fist!']<sup>1</sup> or, if Comrade Lenin wishes, like a fist that is present everywhere, thrusts itself into every corner, assigns everyone to an organisation, gives everyone work to do. But there are very extensive circles which take a very lively part in our work, but cannot join an organisation. I will not speak of Comrade Akselrod's professor, perhaps it is not worth worrying about him, but we ought to concern ourselves about the high-school boys of whom Lieber spoke, and about the very wide circles of workers about whom I want to speak. Everywhere, in Petersburg as in Nikolayev and Odessa, as the representatives of these towns testify, there are dozens of workers who are distributing literature and carrying on word-of-mouth agitation, but who cannot be members of an organisation. They can be attached to an organisation, but not regarded as members. And here is the big difference between us in our very understanding of what is meant by belonging to an organisation. For me, a member of an organisation is one who bears responsibility for its actions. And if he bears responsibility, then he ought to take part also in discussing and deciding questions.

*Strakhov:* First, I must say that I cannot agree with any of the



comrades who have just spoken and explained the origin of so-called 'democratism' by the absence of control over the activity of local organisations. In my view, the conditions for the rise of 'democratism' were quite different. At any rate, so far as Petersburg is concerned, what must be put in the foreground there is the non-admission to the organisation of the Union of active workers of that organisation, and refusal to recognise them as members, and also, connected with these negative tendencies of the Union at that time, its inability to satisfy the demands presented to it by the workers. However, I cannot talk about that now. As regards the question of membership which has arisen, I must say that Comrade Martov regards me as a supporter of his resolution only as a result of misunderstanding. I consider the membership formula put forward by Comrade Martov to be unsatisfactory. The control he proposes is impracticable. As I said before, in my view the only effective and reliable control is that which an organisation exercises over its members. In this matter I agree with Comrade Lenin.

In general, I would observe that it seems to me that comrades have spoken here about two different things, understanding membership in two different ways. Some, I think, understand the words 'Party member' in a narrower sense, as a member of the central organisation of the Party. Others embrace a wider definition, implying by 'Party members' all those persons in general who agree with the programme of the Party and are willing to help it. While in no way denying the practical importance of the first definition, I must point to the importance of the second, wider one. The thing is that our Party, as Comrade Lenin quite rightly said in his speech, must necessarily include a number of organisations of many different kinds, beginning with the central Party organisation and ending with trade unions which join the Party. The members of all these unions, who accept the programme and enter our Party, must be regarded as members of the Party. Such a broad definition of Party membership seems to me to be very important. It makes obvious to everyone the fact that a Party which includes workers' organisations of every kind is the real defender of all the correctly-understood interests of the workers. And once this becomes apparent to the mass of the workers, then thereby the ground is cut from under the feet of the Zubatovites and other hypocritical defenders of the workers' 'true' interests. The whole question is this, do we want to remain a conspiratorial organisation, or do we want to create a real workers' party? I want the latter, and I

propose that we consider as a member of the RSDLP everybody who works in any of the organisations which are included in the Party.

*Akselrod:* Lenin attacked the weakest point in my speech. But I deliberately chose such an extreme example as a professor who unconditionally accepts our programme and even our tactics, in order to demonstrate the unreasonableness of the formula. But how are we to act towards study-groups of revolutionary young people, and in general towards groups which fully accept the Party's programme and tactics, submit to the decisions of its central organisation, and declare that they belong to the Party? No decrees can forbid them, or any individuals, to call themselves Social-Democrats or even to regard themselves part of the Party. I favour a clear-cut demarcation between Party and organisation, in the interests of the latter. One may be a sincere and devoted member of a Social-Democratic party and yet quite unsuitable as a member of a strictly centralised fighting organisation made up of professional revolutionaries. On the other hand the Party of the proletariat must not, on that account, be restricted to the narrow confines of a conspiratorial organisation, which would have to treat hundreds and even thousands of conscious proletarians as being outside the Party, not members of it. As formulated by Lenin, paragraph 1 directly conflicts in principle with the very nature and aims of the Social-Democratic party of the proletariat. But I observe I am knocking at an open door, because Comrade Lenin, with his peripheral circles which are to be regarded as part of the Party organisation, goes out to meet my demand. There still remain the individuals, but here too we could bargain.

*Martynov:* We are seeing something strange. Comrades speaking in defence of Martov's resolution, which broadens the limits of our Party, are referring in their arguments to Lenin's pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* They are affirming, rightly, that, according to this pamphlet, our organisation ought to consist only of professional revolutionaries. If this is so, they say, there is no room in the organisation for the whole Party. The author of *What Is To Be Done?*, who wants by his resolution to narrow the limits of the Party, having admitted the other day that he had bent the stick, now assures us that he does not conceive the organisation as being so narrow as was indicated in his pamphlet, and that in the Party, together with the organisation of professional revolutionaries, there will also be a place

for *lose Organisationen*. This being so, he says, there is nothing terrible in narrowing the Party down to the limits of its organisation.

Evidently it would not be difficult for us to come into conflict regarding the frontiers of the Party if we were to decide unambiguously what sort of organisation we want to have in this Party. An amazing confusion of concepts has been shown to exist among us on that matter. Some have said here that our organisation must be centralised and clandestine (*konspirativnaya*), and therefore conspiratorial. I say that there is no 'therefore' about it, that these ideas are not the same, even though the French-derived word *konspiratsiya* is used both as a synonym of 'conspiracy' and also in the sense of 'underground' activity.

While recognising that our organisation must be centralised and extremely clandestine I say at the same time that it must be different, in principle and fundamentally, from a conspiratorial one. These two types of organisation presuppose completely different class bases. The conspiratorial type cannot be proletarian, but must be a radical party basing itself on miscellaneous democratic elements which are subject to transient and changing political moods. Our Party is based on the proletariat, on a class with a definite historical tendency. Since conspirators are not backed by a mass which is united by uniform and lasting tendencies, and are linked with few people in their activity, they act secretly, behind the backs of those whose interests they defend, and use the changing moods of these sections for arbitrary political combinations. A revolutionary Social-Democratic organisation is a different affair. It is merely the conscious spokesman of the class movement of the proletariat. It does not act behind the back of the proletariat but merely guides it, helping it to become aware of its interests and consciously, purposefully to fight for them.

Consequently, the Social-Democratic organisation of professional revolutionaries (in the central and local committees) must, unlike a conspiratorial organisation, be organically linked with the masses, and specifically with the proletarian masses, by a whole network of more or less broad, more or less close-knit organisations. I repeat, the Social-Democratic organisation must always be strictly centralised, and under Russian political conditions it must also be strictly clandestine, but by its very nature it can never be conspiratorial. If we recognised this principle without any ambiguity, it would not be difficult for us to settle the question of the limits of our Party.

*Akimov:* I agree with what Comrade Martov said and hope that that will not do him any harm. I agree with the formula presented by Martov not because it defines exactly the relation I desire to see existing between Party and organisation, but merely because it takes a step forward along the road to a correct solution of the problem.

*The session was closed.*

## Twenty-third Session

*(Present, 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*Martov:* Out of all the objections advanced against my formula I will deal with the one about the impracticability of my first paragraph, that is, control by Party organisations over members of the Party. I think the position is just the reverse of what has been said. Control is practicable, inasmuch as, having assigned a function to somebody, the committee will be able to watch over it. The purpose aimed at by Lenin's rules, however, is essentially unrealisable. In Lenin's opinion, there should be no organisations in the Party other than 'Party organisations'. As I see it, on the contrary, such other organisations must exist. Life creates and breeds organisations faster than we can include them in the hierarchy of our fighting organisation of professional revolutionaries. Lenin thinks that the Central Committee will confer the title of Party organisations only on such as are fully reliable in the matter of principles. But Comrade Brouckère understands very well that life will assert itself and that the CC, in order not to leave a multitude of organisations outside the Party, will have to legitimise them despite their not quite reliable character; that is why Comrade Brouckère associates himself with Lenin.

I for my part think that if such an organisation is prepared to accept the Party programme and Party control then we may admit it to the Party, without thereby making it a Party organisation. I would consider it a great triumph for our Party if, for example, some union of 'independents' were to declare that they accepted the views of Social-Democracy and its programme, and were joining the Party; which does not, however, mean that we would include the union in the Party organisation. I support Lenin's idea that we need to have, besides an organisation of professional revolutionaries, also *lose*

*Organisationen* of various sorts. But only our formula expressed the desire to have a series of organisations between the organisation of professional revolutionaries and the masses. For us the workers' party does not consist only of an organisation of professional revolutionaries. It is that, *plus* the whole aggregate of active, advanced elements of the proletariat.

*Plekhanov*: I had no preconceived view on the paragraph of the rules now being discussed. When, this morning, I heard the supporters of the two opposing views speak, I found that I 'leaned now to this side, now to that'. But the more that was said on the subject and the more attentively I listened to the speeches the more convinced I became that Lenin is right. The whole question boils down to this: what elements can be included in our Party? According to Lenin's draft, only someone who joins a particular organisation can be regarded as a Party member. Those who oppose his draft say that this will cause unnecessary difficulties. But what do these difficulties consist of? They talk of persons who do not want to join, or who can't join, one of our organisations. But why *can't* they? As someone who has himself taken part in Russian revolutionary organisations, I say that I do not admit the existence of objective conditions constituting an insuperable obstacle to anyone's joining. And as for those gentlemen who *do not want* to join, we have no need of them. It has been said here that some professor who sympathises with our views may find it humiliating to join a local organisation. In this connection I remember Engels saying that when it becomes your lot to deal with professors, you have to be prepared for the worst. [*Laughter.*] The example is, in fact, an extremely bad one. If some Professor of Egyptology considers, because he has by heart the names of all the Pharaohs, and knows all the prayers that the Egyptians submitted to the bull Apis, that it is beneath his dignity to join our organisation, we have no need of that professor. To talk of control by the Party over persons who are *outside* the organisation means playing with words. In practice such control is impossible. Akselrod was wrong in citing the 1870s. At that time there was a well-organised and splendidly disciplined centre; around it there were the organisations, of various categories, which it had created; and what remained outside these organisations was chaos, anarchy. The component members of this chaos called themselves Party members, but that harmed rather than benefited the cause. We should not imitate the anarchy of the 1870s, but avoid it.

The supporters of Martov's draft say that the right to call oneself a Party member has great moral significance. But I do not agree. If it is all useful to recall the example of the 1870s, then it is in this very connection. When Zhelyabov said in court that he was not a member of the Executive Committee, but only one of its agents, at the fourth level of trust, this did not reduce the fascination exerted by that famous Committee, but enhanced it. It will be the same now. If somebody says that he sympathises with our Party but does not belong to it because, unfortunately, he cannot satisfy all its requirements, the Party's prestige will only increase as a result.

I do not understand, either, why it is thought that, if Lenin's draft is adopted, that will shut the door of our Party on a lot of workers. Workers who want to join the Party are not afraid of entering an organisation. Discipline has no terrors for them. Many intellectuals, thoroughly imbued with bourgeois individualism, are afraid of joining an organisation. But that is a good thing. These bourgeois individualists are usually also representatives of every sort of opportunism. We need to keep them at arm's length. Lenin's draft can serve as a bulwark against their entry into the Party, and if only for that reason all opponents of opportunism should vote for it.

*Rusov:* I have no sympathy with opportunists and Bernsteinists and should not like to see them in the Party, but I cannot agree with Comrade Plekhanov. It seems to me that the danger which Comrade Lenin presents as threatening us if we adopt the second formula is quite unreal. The title of 'Party member' which is conferred by the rules does not give the person who bears it any rights in relation to the Party, but only a mass of obligations. Given the absence of the electoral principle in all Party organisations, the strict centralisation that prevails, and the answerability of everybody working for the Party to its central institutions, there is no reason to fear penetration by elements constituting a threat to purity of principles. After all, those members of whom Lenin's formula speaks are already in Party organisations, registered, and with duties in the sphere of competence of the organisation to which they belong. In order that they may be regarded as Party members and have imposed upon them the duty of helping the Party, there is no need to introduce a new title.

Comrade Lenin would be logical if he were to strike out the whole of the first paragraph, or replace it with a paragraph stating that a basic unit of the Party is any group, any organisation, which is confirmed by

the central organs of the Party and which fulfils some Party function. But, in adopting this, we should be leaving outside the Party that mass of proletarians and individual townspeople who, while not belonging to any Party organisation, serve as instruments in the hands of the organisation for accomplishing its tasks. Every practical worker present here, if he will only try to recall all the persons who work in the localities, will agree that people like that are especially numerous among the workers. Attaching them to the Party, while doing no harm at all to its work and its ideological purity, will at the same time enable it to know at any moment the minimum force upon which it can count. In addition, such attachment will enable the Party to require of all these persons that they fulfil unconditionally the obligations which the Party imposes upon its members. These obligations can be particular Party resolutions and also decisions by the central organs. Reminding comrades, once again, that a Party member will have no rights but, on the contrary, a mass of obligations towards the Party, I invite you to support Comrade Martov's resolution.

*Pavlovich:* I always treat with some caution Comrade Brouckère's declarations of solidarity with us on any question. In the present instance, Comrade Brouckère is with us owing to a misunderstanding. Comrade Lenin's entire organisational plan is unified by the idea of centralism. But Comrade Lenin has tried to ensure that the negative aspects of centralism are present to the least possible extent. As a supporter of 'democratism', Comrade Brouckère was led into error by the first paragraph. It is certainly not to our interest to dilute the Party's ranks with dubious elements. I appreciate his good intentions, but his mistake lies in that he sees the process of a growth of the Social-Democratic movement not dynamically but statically. Acceptance of the programme presupposes, after all, a fairly high level of political consciousness. But if we are to go the way of Martov, we should first of all delete the clause on accepting the programme, for before a programme can be accepted it must be mastered and understood. Lenin's paragraph provides for acceptance not only of the programme but also of the relations laid down by the Party rules. Translated into simple terms this means (though the translation may not please Comrade Lieber): 'If you want to be a Party member, your acceptance of organisational relations too must be not merely platonic.'

We have been told here about those individuals — professors and



officials — who are not afraid to go under the canopy of Martov's resolution but are frightened by Comrade Lenin's. But, comrades, the Party rules are written not for professors but for proletarians, who are not so shy as professors, and they, I hope, are not afraid of organisation and *collective* activity. In general, rules are written not for individuals but for collectives. I will go further and say: these individuals who do not have the *sanction* of any Party organisation cannot be called, either formally or really, representatives of the Party. As for those affiliated organisations, of high-school boys, writers, correspondents, and so on, about whom Lieber is so concerned, I say to him that all that is needed is simply for one of our organisations to decide how Social-Democratic they are and assign them functions and responsibility in the appropriate field, and within that field they will have to bring their actions into line with ours. If these high-school boys and students persist in their bourgeois outlook, then I see in that no loss to the Social-Democratic movement. By adopting Martov's formula we irresponsibly admit an anarchic mass to membership of the Party. We must not proceed from the assumption that Russia is a *tabula rasa*. Even today there is not a single important centre in Russia where we do not have an organisation, or the elements of one. How we are to reconcile the conception of our Party, ramified all over Russia, with the existence, acting alongside of it, of some *irresponsible* persons who have *enrolled themselves* in the Party, and how this anarchistic conception is to be reconciled with Comrade Martov's own statement that our Party must be the conscious spokesman of an unconscious process, I leave it to the comrades to decide.

*Muravyov*: I think Comrade Rusov's objection to Lenin's draft, that it would leave many people outside the Party, is without foundation. Lenin's plan embraces, besides 'Party organisations' in the strict sense, a number of other organisations, which various circles and individuals can easily join.

*Trotsky*: I was very surprised when Comrade Plekhanov advocated voting for Comrade Lenin's formula on the grounds that it is a reliable means against opportunism. I did not know that one could exorcise opportunism by means of rules. I think that opportunism is produced by more complex causes. Finally, I did not realise that opportunists are organically incapable of organisation. I know the Jaurèsist party, which is organised opportunism. I have not forgotten the organisation of our economists. No, it seems to me that this dispute is much less

principled in character. Why cannot a person join our organisation, if he accepts our programme? asks Comrade Plekhanov, and answers: This is obviously a question of intellectuals' individualism, and we must fight against that.

But the point is that Lenin's formula, against intellectuals' individualism, hits a quite different target. It is much easier for the intellectual youth, organised in one way or another, to enter themselves on the rolls of the Party. Societies of high-school pupils, Red Cross organisations, and especially organisations of students coming from the same part of the country are very much longer-lasting than any broad (*lose*) workers' organisations. Organisations of students from the same area survive for several years, whereas broad workers' organisations break up daily, under the impact of strikes, crises and migration by the workers. So, Comrade Lenin's definition takes its stand on the difference in conditions between the intelligentsia and the workers. The author of this definition says that it enables us to know at any moment what forces we can lead into battle; but I am afraid that when Comrade Lenin looks at his lists at the critical moment, he will find there societies of students from the same area, and young ladies, very good Social-Democratic young ladies, grouped in the Red Cross . . . I do not accord any mystical significance to the rules, and I don't think that they will shift the centre of gravity of our work into the milieu of societies of students from the same area and young ladies belonging to the Red Cross. No, our field of work will remain, as before, of course, the proletariat. But if statutory definitions are to correspond to actual relations, Comrade Lenin's formulation must be rejected. I repeat: it misses its mark. Its author, and, especially, its defender, Comrade Plekhanov, want to make it a noose to hang those politically corrupt and depraved characters from the 'intellectual' milieu, calling themselves Social-Democrats, who form young people into groups and hand them over to Peter Struve. Believe me, comrades, I would be the first to grasp at any formula that would serve as a noose for those gentry, I would pull it tight with enthusiasm. But won't these gentry be able to join any broad (*lose*) Party organisation? Won't they be able to form *for themselves* some such organisation? You will say that the CC wouldn't recognise it. Why not? Obviously, not because of the character of the organisation itself, but because of that of the persons belonging to it. That means that the CC will know MM and NN as political *personalities*. But in that case they would not be dangerous, and would be got rid of by a general Party

boycott. But what is the sense, I ask, of restricting the rights and status of those individual intellectuals who take their stand on the Party programme and render services to the Party in their individual capacity, under the direction of a Party organisation? Must the CC say to any such individual Social-Democrat living in the town of Penza: 'Before you can enjoy your minimum rights as a Party member you must link up with similar individuals in Samara and Kaluga. This is because we have now thought up a formula for keeping your intellectual individualism at bay.'<sup>1</sup>

*Lenin:* I should like first of all to make two remarks on particular points. First, as regards Akselrod's kind proposal (I am not speaking ironically) to 'strike a bargain'. I would willingly respond to this appeal, for I do not at all consider our difference so vital as to be a matter of life and death for the Party. We shall certainly not perish because of a bad point in the rules! But since it has come to a choice between *two* formulations, I simply cannot abandon my firm conviction that Martov's formulation is a *worsening* of the original draft, a worsening which *may*, in certain circumstances, cause no little harm to the Party. My second remark concerns Comrade Brouckère. It is only natural for Comrade Brouckère, who wants to apply the elective principle everywhere, to have accepted my formulation, the only one that defines at all exactly the conception of a *member* of the Party. I therefore fail to understand Comrade Martov's delight at Comrade Brouckère's agreement with me. Can it be that Comrade Martov actually takes it as his *guiding principle* to be against whatever Brouckère says, without examining this comrade's motives and arguments?

To come to the substance of the question, I must say that Comrade Trotsky has completely failed to understand Comrade Plekhanov's fundamental idea, and his arguments have therefore entirely missed the heart of the matter. He spoke about intellectuals and workers, about the class point of view and about the mass movement, but he failed to notice one basic question: does my formulation narrow or enlarge the concept of a Party member? If he had asked himself that question, he would easily have seen that my formulation narrows this concept, whereas Martov's enlarges it, for what distinguishes his concept is (to use Martov's own, correct expression) its 'elasticity'. And in the period of the Party's life which we are now passing through it is just this 'elasticity' that most certainly opens the door to all the

elements of confusion, vacillation and opportunism. In order to refute this simple and obvious conclusion it would be necessary to show that such elements do not exist, but even Comrade Trotsky has not thought of doing that. Nor can it be shown, for everyone knows that such elements exist in plenty, and that they are to be found in the working class too. Safeguarding the firmness of the Party's line and the purity of its principles has now become all the more urgent because, with the restoration of its unity, the Party will recruit many unstable elements, whose numbers will increase as the Party grows.

Comrade Trotsky understood very incorrectly the fundamental idea of my book *What Is To Be Done?*, when he spoke about the Party not being a conspiratorial organisation (many others also raised this objection). He forgot that in my book I advocate a whole series of organisations of different types, from the most secret and exclusive to comparatively broad and 'loose' (*lose*) organisations. He forgot that the Party must be only the vanguard, the leader of the vast mass of the working class, the whole of which (or nearly the whole) works 'under the control and direction' of the Party organisations, but the whole of which does not and should not belong to the Party. Let us look, indeed, and see what conclusions Comrade Trotsky derives from his fundamental mistake. He has told us here that if rank after rank of workers were arrested, and all these workers were to declare that they did not belong to our Party, our Party would be a strange one! Isn't it the other way round? Isn't it Comrade Trotsky's reasoning that is strange? He sees as something sad that which a revolutionary with any experience at all could only rejoice at. If hundreds and thousands of workers who were arrested for taking part in strikes and demonstrations proved not to be members of Party organisations, that would only show that our organisations are good, that we are fulfilling our task of keeping a more or less exclusive circle of leaders in secrecy and drawing the widest possible masses into the movement.

The root of the mistake made by those who support Martov's formulation is that they not only overlook one of the main evils of our Party life but even give it their blessing. This evil is that, in an atmosphere of almost universal discontent, when conditions require our work to be carried on in complete secrecy, and when most of our activity has to be confined to close, secret groups and even private meetings, it is extremely difficult, almost impossible, for us to distinguish those who chatter from those who do the work. And there is hardly any other place where the jumbling of these two categories is as

common, and as productive of such boundless confusion and harm as in Russia. We are suffering severely from this evil, not only among the intelligentsia but also among the working class, and Comrade Martov's formulation sanctions it. This formulation inevitably aspires to make *all and sundry* into Party members. Comrade Martov himself had to admit this, with the comment: 'Yes, if you like.' But that is just what we do not like! And that is just why we are so resolute in our opposition to Martov's formulation. It would be better if ten who do work should not call themselves Party members (those who really work don't run after titles!) than that one chatterer should have the right and the opportunity to be a Party member. That is a principle which seems to me irrefutable, and which compels me to oppose Martov.

The objection has been put to me that we confer no rights upon Party members, and that therefore no abuses can occur. Such an objection is untenable: while we have not stated what particular rights a Party member enjoys, note that neither have we said anything about any restriction on the rights of Party members. That is point one. And secondly — and this is the main point — irrespective even of rights, we must not forget that every Party member is responsible for the Party, and that *the Party is responsible for every one of its members*. In view of the conditions in which we have to carry on our political activities, in view of the rudimentary state of our political organisation at the present time, it would be simply dangerous and harmful to grant the right of membership to persons who are not members of an organisation and to make the Party responsible for persons who are not members of an organisation (perhaps deliberately). Comrade Martov was horrified at the idea that somebody may, in spite of the energetic work he may have done, lack the right to declare in court that he is a Party member. That does not frighten me. On the contrary, serious harm would be done if a person who calls himself a Party member, even though he does not belong to any Party organisation, were to show up badly in court. It would be impossible to deny that such a person was working under the control and direction of an organisation — impossible because of the very vagueness of this expression. Actually — and there can be no doubt about this — the words 'under the control and direction' will result in there being *neither control nor direction*. The Central Committee will never be able to exercise real control over all who work but do not belong to organisations. It is our task to endow the Central Committee with *real*

control. It is our task to safeguard the firmness and maintain the purity of our Party. We must strive to raise the calling and importance of a Party member high, higher and still higher — and for this reason I oppose Martov's formulation.

*Kostrov:* The rules exist for life, life does not exist for the rules. Let us look and see to what extent Lenin's draft of the rules corresponds to the actual state of affairs. We have Social-Democratic Committees consisting of a few advanced revolutionaries. These committees stand at the head of the local labour movement. Behind them, behind these leaders, there is a whole mass of fighters, revolutionary workers who distribute proclamations, collect money, demonstrate in the streets, go to prison and into exile, but who do not belong either to a Committee or to any other organisation. Are these fighters, these soldiers of ours, not Party members? Must we exclude them from the Party? Who will be left in the Party? Only generals without an army. That means disorganising all our work in Russia, and setting our own comrades against the Party. Comrade Plekhanov says that in the days of *Narodnaya Volya* the party was identical with the organisation. I believe that to be true, but we must not forget that the *Narodnaya Volya* party was a party of intellectuals, whereas ours is a party of the masses, of the proletariat. And one cannot include the masses in the organisation: that would be unthinkable in the present state of Russia. Consequently, our Party must consist of the organisation, those prime movers of the Party, plus a mass of fighters who are outside the organisation but are still members of the Party. Therefore, adopting Lenin's draft means disorganising the entire party, and I propose that it be rejected.

*Akimov:* The question of the choice between two versions of the first paragraph of the rules has divided comrades who up to now have always voted together. On this matter I part company with Comrade Brouckère. This is because the two formulas proposed have essentially one and the same aim. Comrades Martov and Lenin are arguing as to which of their formulations will best achieve their common aim; Brouckère and I want to choose the one which is least likely to achieve that aim. From this angle I choose Martov's formulation. Many have spoken here about which version will best protect our Party from harmful elements, and as an illustration we have had given us the example of the professor of archaeology who is to be either admitted to

the Party or not admitted, depending on the degree of purity of his Social-Democratic views. This example was taken only so as to hide the fear felt by the authors of the draft at the entry into our Party of elements of a type quite different from that mythical professor.

Comrade Plekhanov said this morning he did not know which of the two formulations he was going to support, but that does not mean, of course, that he had not already decided what sort of organisation our Party needed. Already in his commentaries on the draft programme, Plekhanov expressed himself quite definitely on that point. 'If we are not mistaken,' he wrote, 'there is not one of our comrades who now has any doubt that our Party needs an organisation of the same type as *Zemlya i Volya* and *Narodnaya Volya*; they disagree only about the quickest way to achieve that' — I quote from memory. And now both authors are presenting the congress with texts of Paragraph One of the rules which seek to achieve that aim. Their very aim is impracticable and harmful. Too much has changed since the days when *Narodnaya Volya* perished: quite different strata of society are now the chief bearers of revolutionary tasks, and the tasks themselves have changed considerably. Even *a priori* it seems impossible that a mass, class movement of the proletariat can be satisfied with the old conspiratorial organisation. Of course, the average revolutionary worker of today inevitably must be on a lower level as regards knowledge, and even as regards consciousness, than the 'professional revolutionary', and so you want to lock yourselves up in a special 'organisation of revolutionaries', and devise a set of rules to ensure that the non-professional revolutionary cannot, with his uneducated conception of the tasks of our Party, spoil all our work. I am glad that you have taken care to fence yourselves in. I am confident that the realities of life will, nevertheless, force their way into our Party organisation, whether you bar their path with Martov's formulation or with Lenin's. But while Comrade Lenin finds that Martov's text is not such a serious worsening of his plan, I recognise in it an improvement, even if not too big an improvement, because Lenin's formula shuts out of our Party the entire mass of its active workers, leaving only a handful of 'professional revolutionaries'.

*Gusev*: It falls to my lot to be the last to speak. After all that has been said, I have nothing to add. I am for Lenin's formulation, because it comes closer to the plan of organisation expressed in the rules which have been put before us.

*The congress voted. Lenin's formulation was rejected (in a roll-call vote) by 28 to 23.\**

*Martov's formulation was adopted by 28 to 22, with one abstention.†*

Lyadov proposed that paragraph 1 should include the words: 'supports the party financially'.

Martov: I was in a minority in the commission when it was proposed to include the point about financial support. This point is becoming especially important now, when the Social-Democratic movement is becoming increasingly proletarian. The Party must count on its own financial resources exclusively. Consequently we must train the mass of the membership to show constant concern for the Party's funds.

*The list of speakers on this question was closed.*

Yegorov: I agree that the Party must exist on the resources provided by its members. But it does not follow that this should be said in paragraph 1, for the rendering of financial support cannot be a condition of membership. I propose that the obligation of Party members to render financial support to the Party be embodied in a separate paragraph.

Lieber proposed excluding 'financial support' from paragraph 1. He considered that these words would do nothing to ensure the flow of money into the Party. At the same time there was an unpleasant note sounded here, as though Party membership was something to be bought with financial contributions.

Glebov also called for the deletion of these words. This point might

\* Voting *for* were: Bekov (2 votes), Gusev, Tsaryov, Osipov, Medvedev, Pavlovich, Stepanov, Sorokin, Lyadov, Gorin, Muravyov, Lange, Dyedov, Orlov, Yegorov, Gorsky, Brouckère, Plekhanov, Lenin (2 votes), Hertz, Braun. Voting *against* were: Rusov (2 votes), Karsky (2 votes), Makhov (2 votes), Lvov (2 votes), Kostich, Ivanov, Panin (2 votes), Byelov, Fomin, Posadovsky, Trotsky, Lensky, Popov, Akimov, Martynov, Deutsch, Martov (2 votes), Hofman, Goldblatt, Lieber, Yudin, Abramson.

† Voting *for* were: Rusov (2 votes), Karsky (2 votes), Makhov (2 votes), Lvov (2 votes), Kostich, Ivanov, Panin (2 votes), Byelov, Fomin, Trotsky, Posadovsky, Lensky, Popov, Akimov, Martynov, Deutsch, Martov (2 votes), Hofman, Goldblatt, Yudin, Lieber, Abramson. Voting *against*: Bekov (2 votes), Gusev, Tsaryov, Osipov, Medvedev, Pavlovich, Stepanov, Sorokin, Lyadov, Gorin, Muravyov, Lange, Dyedov, Yegorov, Gorsky, Brouckère, Plekhanov, Lenin (2 votes), Hertz, Braun. Abstention: Orlov.



be needed for professors, but certainly not for broad strata of the workers, for reference to paragraph 1 had no meaning for the proletariat.

*Lenin* urged that the words about financial support be included, since everyone acknowledged that the Party must exist on its members' resources. One could not allude to moral considerations when dealing with the establishment of a political party.

*The proposal to include the words about financial support was adopted by 26 to 18.*

*Akimov* proposed a different formulation of paragraph 1\* and said, in support of it: I propose this amendment in order that our rules may not contradict unavoidable reality. Very few conscious members of our Party will be found who are absolutely in agreement with all the theses of the programme. And yet, according to paragraph 1 of the draft, even somebody who disagrees only with the agrarian part of the programme cannot be a Party member. It is therefore necessary to say that only the basic propositions of the programme must be shared by every member. This will correspond to the rules of the Social-Democratic Parties of Western Europe. I recall that Kautsky disagreed with Adler on one important question of the programme which was adopted by a congress. But this could not prevent Kautsky and Adler from remaining in the same party.

*Martov* proposed that Comrade Akimov's amendment be rejected, since every member of the Party was bound to accept its programme as a whole.

*Lieber* spoke for Comrade Akimov's amendment. 'Member of the Party' was a fairly broad concept. In so far as Comrade Martov meant members of the organisation, he was right, but it was not possible to require such a degree of unanimity on all points of the programme from all those who joined the Party.

*Trotsky* considered Comrade Lieber's explanations unsound. The programme was unconditionally binding on all Party members.

*Pavlovich*: I am surprised that Martov does not agree with Akimov.

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\* Akimov's resolution: 'A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts the basic propositions of its programme and renders personal assistance to the Party under the direction of one of its organisations.'

Comrade Akimov's proposal is fully logical from the standpoint of Comrade Martov, since we have thrown out Comrade Lenin's formulation of paragraph 1 and adopted that formulation which will open the door to non-Social-Democratic elements.

*Martynov* considered that the programme was binding on all Party members in the same degree. From the fact that all members might not be equally conscious it did not follow at all that they might not be equally agreed on the programme.

*Plekhanov* urged that Akimov's proposal be absolutely rejected, since otherwise the doors of the Party would be opened to Bernsteinians and all sorts of bourgeois economists.

*Rusov* proposed that the discussion be closed.

*This proposal was adopted, and the congress voted. Kostrov's resolution\* was rejected. Kostich's resolution was rejected.† Rejected likewise were (1) Gusev's amendment (to insert 'constant' before 'direction') and (2) Pavlovich's amendment (to add 'and accepts the general Party rules'). Comrade Akimov's resolution was rejected.*

*Paragraph 1 as a whole was adopted by 35 to 1, with 12 abstentions.*

*The rapporteur read Paragraph 2 of the rules.*

*Tsaryov proposed, in the first place, to substitute for 'half the votes' — 'one-third of the votes'.*

*Lieber* drew attention to the difficulty of convening a congress. In Russia, where organisational work was only beginning, it was necessary to approach the question of convening a congress with very great caution. One had to distinguish between the initiative for a congress and the right to convene a congress. He therefore proposed a change in the formulation.§

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\* Kostrov's resolution: 'A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts its programme and who supports the Party by personal participation in one of the Party organisations or by rendering personal assistance under the direction of these organisations.'

† Kostich's resolution: 'Anyone who accepts the Party programme, and who helps the Party by giving financial support and regular personal assistance under the direction of one of the Party organisations, is considered by the latter as a Party member.'

§ Lieber's resolution: 'In an emergency a congress can be convened on the initiative of one-third of the deciding votes, if not less than two-thirds of the deciding votes are cast in favour of it.'

*Martov* spoke against the amendments by *Lieber* and *Tsaryov*. He considered it necessary to keep the provision that an initiative required half the votes having the right to participate in a congress, but with the final decision on calling a congress left to the CC, which could communicate with the other committees.

*Yegorov* also proposed a change.\*

*Akimov* proposed that the words 'if possible' be deleted. All the amendments and changes were rejected, and Paragraph 2 was adopted by the majority.

*The session was closed*

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\* *Yegorov's* resolution: 'A congress is to be convened on the initiative of one-third of the votes, if one-half of the votes are cast in favour of this.'

## Twenty-fourth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The session opened with the reading of the minutes of the ninth session.*

*Martynov (commenting on the minutes as read):* In the report given of Comrade Lenin's speech it is said of me, among other things, that I defended opportunist ideas at the congress, upholding the theory of accumulation [?]<sup>1</sup> and denying the theory of impoverishment and the dictatorship of the proletariat. I declare that Lenin did not say that about me, and could not have said it, because, directly before he spoke, I had categorically stated that I did not deny either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the theory of impoverishment.

I have, of course, nothing against Lenin's adding something new to what he said earlier. But I regard it as important to note that he considered it necessary to do this at the present stage of the debate, and belatedly to add something to a speech he made some time ago.

*Lenin* said that no changes had been made by him in his speech.

*Lvov* drew attention to a not quite accurate formulation in the minutes of his speech about the Bund: he had spoken about the harm caused by alienation from the Polish Socialists *in general*, and not merely about the events of May of last year.

*Lieber:* I have nothing against this amendment.

*The rapporteur* of the rules commission read Paragraph 3 of the rules. Personally, he thought it necessary to insist on special representation of the Central Committee at Party congresses. Members of the CC who were on the Party Council could not represent the CC at a congress, since the CC might disappear, and a new one be formed, with different views.

*Trotsky* proposed that discussion of paragraph 3 be postponed, as it was not possible to decide the question of the representation of the Party's central institutions at a congress before the character of these institutions had been clarified.

*At Lenin's suggestion, the congress decided to discuss that part of the paragraph which did not relate to the highest organs of the Party, and to come back to the rest of it when they discussed paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.*

*Rusov* moved that note 2 to paragraph 3 (see paragraph 3 of the rules, with notes) be altered so that the CC had the right to invite to a congress, with consultative voice, representatives of any organisation at all, and not just those which were mentioned in the note.

*Goldblatt*: I propose two amendments to the paragraph we are discussing. The first concerns the expression 'association of committees' which appears in it. This is something new, not previously found in our terminology, and which has been introduced, apparently, so as to embrace in one expression two different concepts, namely, both territorial and national organisations. The subsuming of these two categories under one designation seems to me to be unsuitable, first because it implies a certain mutual levelling of these two radically different types of organisations, and, secondly, because the concept 'national organisation' — and perhaps this applies also to the concept 'territorial organisation' — does not completely fit into the concept 'association of committees'. A national organisation is not a mere association of committees but something greater than that, an integral organism, strongly bound together by ties which are not at all mechanical, and consisting not of committees only but also of a number of other organisations. In view of this, I propose that unclarity be avoided and that the vague words 'association of committees' be replaced by the unambiguous terms 'territorial and national organisations'.

Now for my second amendment. I propose that the representation of an organisation at a congress be not confined to a single delegate, but that there be two of them. My reasons are twofold. On the one hand, it is necessary to enable a minority to be represented at a congress. This is required both by justice and by considerations of expediency, since thereby it will be easier to avoid splits in the committees. On the other, allowing the committees to send only one delegate leads to their representatives being overwhelmed at a con-

gress by the representatives of the central institutions. Let me offer a little calculation in terms of figures. If we assume that we have 20 committees, then the number of delegates with the right to attend a congress will be 27 — 20 delegates from the committees, plus five from the Party Council, plus two from the Central Committee and the Central Organ. A congress is considered valid if more than half of its members are present, that is, in this case, 14 members. An absolute majority, decisive on all questions, will be provided by eight persons. Consequently, it will be sufficient for the central institutions, with their seven votes, to attract to their side just one other vote, and then they can decide all questions against the will of the rest of the committees. The inexpediency of this is obvious, and so I propose that committees, and those organisations which are put on the same level with committees for this purpose, be given the right to send two delegates to a congress.

*Martov:* It is the unwieldiness of a congress, and the risks to security it presents, that dictate the restriction in the number of delegates. Each delegate can be given two votes, but there cannot be more than one delegate from each committee. I did not understand what Comrade Goldblatt meant about 'associations of committees recognised by the Party'. No insult was intended in putting national and territorial associations on the same level, but it was not possible to enumerate them, since there could be associations of various kinds.

*Glebov* did not agree with Rusov's amendment. The Central Committee should only be given the right to send persons with consultative voice to a congress.

*Lieber:* Goldblatt's points have not been refuted by Martov. At a congress we need to get a complete picture of the trends that exist in the Party, and so it is necessary to have representation of both the minority and the majority. Comrade Martov proposes that each delegate be given two votes. But that would merely double the number of votes. I, too, am against the expression 'association of committees'. It is far too indefinite and lacks content. We have on our agenda an item about territorial and national organisations. Why are the other types of association of which Comrade Martov spoke not mentioned there? Because they do not exist. And, this being so, there is no need to include them in the Party rules. Literally, an 'association of committees' signifies the Party. The point is not whether a particular organi-

sation is an association of committees but what the basis is on which these committees are associated. I propose that the vague expression 'association of committees' be replaced by the expression 'territorial and national organisations', which is the one used in the agenda.

*Glebov:* The congress has already adopted a special resolution to the effect that the rules of national organisations will be given in special appendices to the general rules. Therefore Comrade Lieber's proposal is not acceptable. Besides, national organisations are covered by the expression 'association of committees'. As for the proposal that each organisation send two delegates to a congress, let me recall that the arrangements for a congress involve tremendous difficulties. Representation of trends is also impossible, as there may be three or four of these in a committee. Should not *four* delegates be sent, then? Besides, a minority can always appeal to the CC, to the Central Organ, to the Party Council, and, in the last resort, to a congress, which can invite their representatives to attend with consultative voice.

*Kostich:* Lieber's end will not be achieved by his means, because the majority will always elect its own two delegates.

*Kostrov:* Comrade Goldblatt's misgivings about the expression 'association of committees' seem to me to be uncalled-for. This expression includes both national and territorial associations. As regards the number of votes to be allowed to local organisations at a congress, I consider they should certainly be given two votes, and this is why: the life of our Party and the questions which Party life brings up are becoming more and more complicated. We have a Party programme, we shall have rules and tactics decided on, and all this will be turned over to the local organisations for them to discuss and to implement. Where such complex questions and actions are concerned it is inevitable that different tendencies will appear in the organisations, and to give representation to the majority trend does not necessarily mean giving representation to the correct line. The minority may be correct, and to deprive it of the possibility of defending its view at a Party congress means harming the Party itself. It is said that inviting extra delegates to a congress is difficult for reasons of security and cost. That is true. Accordingly, should it not be laid down that committees are to have two votes each, and are to be represented by one delegate, but with this addition: a committee will send two delegates only in those cases when it is found necessary to ensure

representation of its minority and majority trends at a congress. I propose that article 3 be amended in this sense.

*Goldblatt:* Comrade Glebov's objections are not convincing. His reference to the fact that the representation of national organisations will be defined by a special set of rules is inconclusive, since what is involved here is not the character of representation but merely a clear and precise enumeration. His reference, too, to the fact that there will be a note distinguishing between the two types of organisation of which I spoke, is not true, because the note employs the very same expression: 'associations of committees'. One of the comrades said that, despite the double number of delegates at this congress, there is no minority represented. Analogy is, in general, not proof, and if no minority is represented at this congress, I find it very hard to explain why this should be so: perhaps it is because there is no minority to be represented. Comrade Glebov takes too complacent a view of things when he says that, even if there is no special representation of the views of a minority, they will be brought to the notice of a congress if the CC finds these views worthy of attention. That is just the point, that the CC itself may, in the given instance, be one of the parties to a dispute, and so ought not to be allowed to decide how important the arguments of its opponents are. The opponents should be allowed to expound their own views at a congress.

Two words about the sarcastic allusion to the Bund which Comrade Glebov permitted himself to make. I must observe that at the last (fifth) congress of the Bund its Central Committee was represented by only five men, the total number of participants in the congress being 30. Our committees have the right to send two delegates, and so it is impossible to draw a parallel between the Bund and the Party as a whole. The Bund has been formed as a strong organic entity, with a stable periphery and an influential public opinion, which would always be able to paralyse any power-seeking moves by the centre, if such were to be discerned, though no such strivings by the centre exist where we are concerned, nor can they exist, and therefore there is no place for any sort of fear on that score. The situation in the Russian Party, taken as a whole, is quite different. Here, according to the rules which are before us, there can be no sturdy body of the Party, but only a sturdy centre, with all the rest of it forming a kind of amorphous mass. Given this tendency to identify the Party with the centre and reduce the committees to nothingness, the influence of the central



institutions upon a congress needs to be countered by strong representation of the periphery. And that the tendency I have mentioned exists, and is clearly apparent in the draft rules, can be doubted only by those who deliberately shut their eyes to it.

*Tsaryov* considered that representation should be exercised through two delegates. A congress was a school for the comrades from Russia. To ensure the success of a congress, too, it was necessary that more revolutionaries should be present.

*Lieber*: The statement by some comrades that there is no minority at our congress shows only that there was no minority to be represented. Or else we should have to assume that the CC proceeded incorrectly. Let me recall that, in the rules of the congress, representation by two delegates is justified by the desire to represent the minority as well. But even if there is no minority, or it cannot secure representation, the point about two delegates is still justified, since all active elements in the Party should be sent to a congress. That is what happens in the Bund.

*Akimov*: Every time I speak I do so fully realising that my arguments will not influence the comrades but will, on the contrary, damage the point I am trying to defend. [*Laughter.*]

I am in favour of the sending of two delegates, and I want to emphasise the true statement by Comrade Kostich that a minority was not represented at our congress. This shows the inadequate political education of our committees, because two votes are given them precisely so that both majority and minority may be represented.

*Gusev*: Giving both majority and minority one vote means putting them on a footing of complete equality, and so abolishing the distinction between majority and minority. That is inadmissible. Giving a deciding vote to a minority is possible only if we accept the principle of proportional representation. In practice this principle could not be applied among us, and it is not necessary, since minority rights are sufficiently safeguarded in the CC, in the Central Organ, in the Council, and even at a congress. Comrade Tsaryov's ideas — correct in essence, but abstract — about the congress being a school, and that therefore each committee should send two delegates, could have absurd results if applied in practice. Why two delegates, and not three, or four? And Comrade Lieber, as we saw, carried his conclusion to the point of absurdity when he said that all the Party's active

forces should be sent to a congress. I must make a substantial factual correction to Comrade Lieber's speech. The idea of the representation of both majority and minority is not to be found in the rules of the Congress, as he said, but in the reasons set out by the Organising Committee, which constitute a quite private statement. Facts actually refuted the proposals of the OC. It turned out that there was no minority, contrary to the belief of Comrade Akimov, who is the lone representative of a non-existent minority.

*Rusov:* There has been a misunderstanding about the expression 'associations of committees' which appears in the rules. The Bund cannot be included in this concept, because it is an association of committees *of the Bund*, that is, not of Party committees but of committees working exclusively among the Jewish proletariat.

*The list of speakers was exhausted. The session was closed.*

## Twenty-fifth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*Chairman:* I draw the attention of the comrades to the fact that the fourth week of our congress is beginning, and yet we still have very many questions to discuss on our agenda. In view of this, I propose, with the agreement of the Bureau: first, that speakers make their contributions as brief as possible, and, secondly, that, after we have adopted the organisational rules, we omit all, or nearly all, the following items and proceed straight to the last one. If there are some comrades who find that certain questions are sufficiently important to make it necessary that some decision be taken on them, then I invite these comrades to get together with their co-thinkers to draw up resolutions, and then we can devote one or two sessions to discussion of these resolutions and amendments to them. Will the congress please give its views on this suggestion. [*Nobody asked to speak.*]

*Chairman:* Considering that the Bureau's proposal has met with unanimous approval, I move the following resolution on its behalf: 'The congress decides that all the items of the agenda after the one on Party organisation and until the one on elections to the central institutions (i.e., items 9 to 18) must be eliminated; on these items only resolutions, signed by not less than ten members of the congress, can be voted on, *provided there is time.*'

*Goldblatt* considered that one could not vote on resolutions without having discussed them.

*Lenin* mentioned the presence on the agenda of such questions as, for example, the celebration of May Day, terror, and so on, resolutions on which could be adopted without discussion, in view of the

clarity that existed on these questions. Resolutions on subjects other than these could be briefly discussed.

*Lieber* considered it was not possible to lay down a minimum number for signatories to a resolution, and in particular that this number should not be ten. By adopting that figure we should be ruling out resolutions from organisations, such as the Bund, which had only five votes.

*Martov*: I do not think we can take into consideration or as our guide the argument developed by Comrade Lieber. Arguing in that way and taking account of the fact that from the way the congress has gone we could foresee that, given such rights as Lieber advocates, resolutions might be submitted over the signature of Comrade Akimov alone. We should in effect be adopting the proposition that all resolutions signed by not less than one voting delegate were to be voted on. Since the majority of the congress expresses the will of the congress, it is for this majority to decide which proposals it considers sufficiently important to be discussed.

*Chairman*: We have two resolutions here. One is that of the Bureau, the other has been handed in by Comrade Deutsch. It reads: 'I propose that we decide that the congress shall end not later than Saturday at 5 p.m.'

*Both proposals were adopted, the first with 38 votes, the second by 40 votes, with the rest abstaining. The congress then returned to the agenda, that is, to voting on paragraph 3 of the rules and the amendments thereto. Amendments by Comrades Goldblatt, Kostrov and Rusov were rejected. The only amendment adopted was one by Comrade Kostrov, saying: 'Each of the organisations mentioned is to have two votes at a congress, and to be represented by one delegate.' Paragraph 3 as a whole (except points a, b and c) were adopted by the majority, with seven abstentions.*

*Paragraph 4 was then discussed (see paragraphs 4 and 5 of the rules.)*

*Tsaryov*: I am sure nobody will agree with me and so I shall be brief. I am not going to argue in favour of my resolution, or criticise the innumerable variants of the commission's resolution which run counter to my opinion. I am against the institution of a Party Council. I conceive the organisation of the central institutions like this: the congress elects or appoints the editorial board of the Central Organ,

and an Executive Committee. The general direction of Party life is undertaken by the Central Committee, which is made up of the entire membership of both the editorial board and the Executive Committee. How these two bodies communicate with each other is their own affair. Perhaps they will arrange private congresses; perhaps they will have recourse to delegating authority to one, two or three of their members; perhaps they can decide some questions by correspondence. We haven't sufficient experience of these matters. That is why five members of the commission have put forward as many as three draft resolutions. In addition, certain delegates have their own independent draft resolutions. This abundance is due to the Party's lack of experience, and under these conditions we cannot set up a Party Council.

*Hertz*: Of the three formulations of the first part of Paragraph 4 which have been submitted, I prefer the first, but with this alteration: instead of the words 'these four members of the Council invite the fifth', I propose we say: 'the fifth is to be elected by the Party congress'. Next, I direct comrades' attention to the second part of the paragraph, which says that the Party Council has the right to reconstitute the CC or the editorial board if one of these institutions becomes vacant. The point is that in the event of a complete disappearance of the CC, the Party Council itself ceases to exist, since there will be no delegation of the CC in it, and, this being so, the CC cannot be reconstituted. Therefore I propose that the passage mentioned be altered thus: 'In the event of complete disappearance of the CC, it is to be reconstituted by the remaining members of the Party Council.'

*Pavlovich* spoke against election of the fifth member of the Party Council by the CC and the editorial board of the Central Organ, since they might not agree, and then the Council would be unable to function. He considered it necessary, furthermore, to give the Central Organ predominance over the Central Committee, in view of the stability of the former, and so he proposed that the congress elect three men from the Central Organ and two from the CC. As regards the third formulation of this paragraph, he thought it unnecessary to discuss this, since even in the commission it had been supported only by one vote.<sup>1</sup>

*Martov* considered it inexpedient to leave it to the two institutions themselves, as proposed by Tsaryov, to decide how to communicate

and to regulate their activity. We needed a unified institution not so much in order to settle misunderstandings between the CC and the editorial board of the Central Organ as to prevent such misunderstandings from arising. When a difference breaks out it is then usually rather late. Personally he was in favour of the first formulation. He could not see the difficulty, mentioned by Pavlovich, in inviting the fifth member. It would always be possible to find a fifth member from among the practical workers, or the editors living abroad. Comrade Pavlovich's proposal to fix the preponderance of one institution over the other he regarded as unnecessary, and, especially, he opposed the argument which accompanied this proposal. It was possible that the CC might find it necessary for one of its members to be outside of Russia; in this way the stability of the CC in matters of principle would to some extent be preserved. The third formulation had all the inconveniences of the first and second, while at the same time lacking the good sides of those formulations. A Party Council was needed, and there must be equal representation in it, owing to the character of this institution as a conciliation board.

*Lieber (on a point of order):* I propose that we first discuss the functions of the CC and the Central Organ, since it is from these that it will follow what the Council is to do and for what purpose it is needed.

*Lenin (on a point of order)* opposed Lieber's proposal, on the grounds that he deplored the time which had been devoted by speakers to discussing the question of the Party Council. In all probability, not everyone lacked a definite opinion on this matter, in the way that Comrade Lieber did.

*Martov* said that it should be added to what Comrade Lenin had just said that a general discussion on the rules as a whole had already taken place. It would have been more pertinent to have discussed then whether the Council was needed, and for what purpose.

*Comrade Lieber's proposal was rejected by a big majority.*

*Rusov:* Although the commission has offered us three formulations, I cannot agree with any of them. Only the second approaches more or less to the view I maintain. In order to discuss these formulations, we need to decide the question of what the Party Council actually is to be. An arbitration board, or a permanent collective, the highest Party centre, pursuing its own line, directing the whole of the Party's work

along the path indicated by the Congress? In order that there may be no vacillation in the Party's policy, in order to guard the purity of the Party's principles, we cannot entrust the supreme leadership to an institution the composition of which is casual. And the Council, as defined in the first formulation, is such an unstable institution. One part of it, elected by the CC, will be altered with each gap that appears, depending on who the members of the new CC will be. This will have the effect of disturbing the permanency of the dominant tendency on the Council. The first part of the second formulation, providing for election of members of the Council by the congress, completely eliminates this defect. From the number of revolutionaries present the congress will elect five persons, disregarding whether they belong to the CC or the Central Organ and without any idea of securing predominance by one centre or another, but guided solely by the desire to ensure the predominance of certain principles in the Council, and the Council will then itself co-opt additional members, in the event of anyone's departure. But I cannot agree with that part of the second formulation which predetermines that, out of four members of the Council, two must come from the CC and two from the Central Organ. We must elect members without regard to where they come from, being guided solely by the fitness of a candidate to carry out in the Council the ideas of the congress majority. On the basis of these ideas I move a corresponding amendment to the second formulation, with the basic idea of which I agree.

*The list of speakers was closed.*

*Lange:* In the plan for the Party's organisation put forward by the commission a violation of the unity which should distinguish the centre, the Party's organ, has been allowed to appear. We all know very well that this retreat is due only to extreme necessity. All the more, then, must we seek to eliminate from the plan of organisation everything that might give rise to unnecessary friction and threaten this unity. Election of the Council by the congress will not guarantee that the Council's membership is not composed casually; this mode of election is far from ensuring that the Council is not penetrated by unfriendly elements. This applies even more to election by the congress of the fifth member of the Council. That is why I am decidedly opposed to election of the Council by the Congress.

*Gusev:* I move the following amendment: 'The Party Council is to

consist of five persons. Three of these will be elected by the congress, the other two delegated by the CC and the Central Organ.' I regard my proposal as more suitable because it offers the best means of equalising the influence of the CC and the Central Organ in the Council, which is something everybody who has spoken has been concerned about. In general I do not think that in the present situation we can find forms that would preserve the Council from predominant influence on the part of the Central Organ. Even if the Council were to be made up exclusively of representatives of the CC it would still, at the present time, be subjected to the influence of the Central Organ. We cannot construct an organisation in conformity with this phenomenon. And if I say that my plan ensures equality of influence better than the others, this is not because I have constructed the Council on the basis of fear lest the Central Organ predominate in it. The structure of the organisation must be independent of the present situation, since the rules are being laid down for a number of years.

*Starover:* According to the provision of the draft presented to us, the Party Council is to 'reconcile and co-ordinate' the activity of the Central Committee and the Central Organ. This special character of the Council is mentioned also in that point in the draft where it is said that the Council is to meet only at the wish of the two sides. If this is so then it is obvious that the Council, having this mission to fulfil, certainly cannot be nominated by the congress, but must be chosen by those organs which it is its duty to reconcile and unify. We have two centres — one, the ideological centre, abroad, the other, the practical one, inside Russia. They operate in different circumstances, under different conditions. Hence differences, varying shades of opinion, cases of friction are possible and even inevitable. These conflicts must be prevented and eliminated. That task can only be accomplished with any degree of success by an organ that is constantly, organically linked with both centres, and that, I repeat, is possible only if both centres elect members to the Council.

But now it has been suggested that, instead, we fix the Council's composition forthwith, predetermining what it is to be. I draw the assembly's attention to the fact that, already, the question of elections to the Central Committee has come up against great difficulties at the congress. It has been asked: can the congress be competent as regards persons worthy of being elected to the CC? But how much less competent is the congress to decide the question of those persons on



whose shoulders is to be placed the difficult and delicate task of reconciling and unifying the two centres. After all, comrades may be good editors and excellent practical workers, and yet quite unsuitable for the function of 'reconciling and co-ordinating'. Only the interested bodies themselves, the centres, will be able, in the course of their work, having tested their personnel and acquired a good knowledge of them, to make a proper selection.

*Trotsky:* Let me recall how the idea of the Party Council arose. We proceeded from the proposition that the existence of two centres is inevitable. And since it is inevitable, then equally inevitable is the existence of a regulator of the activities of these two centres. The Party Council is to be this regulator. Now, when we are confronted with the question of setting up the Council, some comrades, like Gusev and, especially, Rusov, want to fix the Council as the Party's one and only effective centre. And so we are starting afresh.

*Lieber:* I agree with Comrade Gusev that our rules have been devised independently of the given moment, but whereas he finds this ideal, I find it detrimental. Comrade Gusev rightly said that we either need the institution of a Council or we do not. If we need it, then this institution must be permanent, and not something that comes into existence, as has been proposed, only when requested by one of the central institutions. This contradiction arises from the artificial distinction made between the activity of the CC and that of the Central Organ. We need only one centre, and not three, as proposed here — one centre which will lead, ideologically and practically, all the Party's activity.

*Lenin* considered the first formulation inappropriate in that it gave the Council the character of an arbitration tribunal. The Council must not be merely that, but also must co-ordinate the activity of the CC and the Central Organ. He also spoke in favour of the fifth member being elected by the congress. A case might arise when four members of the Council could not elect the fifth, and we should then be left without an institution of which we have need.

*Yegorov:* I had intended, in accordance with the decision the congress took today, to refrain from speaking, but since Comrade Pavlovich has sought, with the authoritative voice of a member of the Bureau, to discredit the commission's third formulation by saying that it was put forward by only one member, I want to help him

discredit it even further. I strip away the pseudonym of this member and declare that I am he. Everyone who has spoken so far has proceeded from extreme positions, treating the plan he favours as the ideal one. Actually, none of these formulations is ideal, simply because our rules as a whole are a certain adaptation to the evil that results from conditions in Russia. That a single centralised institution is needed to ensure unity of activity is not open to doubt. But it is not possible to realise this ideal. And the creation of the Council is a sort of compromise, a surrogate for this unity, and so it is by its very nature not ideal. My proposal follows from the total aggregate of the activities of the Party council. As the co-ordinating highest organ of the Party it must be elected by the congress; as the organ which reconciles and, consequently, sometimes has to settle conflicts and differences in the activities of these organisations, it must be composed so as to be able to fulfil this function, that is, there must be no obvious preponderance of the CC or of the Central Organ.

*Panin:* I proceed from the proposition that the Council, in its task of 'co-ordinating and reconciling' the activity of the central institutions, is similar to an arbitration tribunal. I propose, therefore, that everything be deleted from the second and third points of this paragraph which would fix the Party Council in the position of a permanently functioning supreme institution of the Party.

*Kostrov:* I want to direct comrades' attention to a curious fact. We are arguing very hard for one permanent centre, and yet we don't possess such a centre. We have one centre, this Council, but it is not permanent, it is casual in character. There remain two permanent central institutions, the CC and the Central Organ, which may quarrel, pulling in different directions, and then we shall have not one leadership for the Party but two, which means dualism and disorganisation of the Party. Either we need one permanent centre, which must be the Party Council, or we do not, in which case the Council is superfluous. I favour the former view and I propose the following amendment to Paragraph 4: 'The Party Council is the highest permanent institution.'

*Akimov:* The congress has adopted all measures needed to ensure that discussion of this question is reduced to formality, by allowing all who speak on the subject three minutes only. I must say, nevertheless, that Comrade Lenin's amendments and formulation are reactionary

and seek to bring a purely Arakcheyev spirit into our rules. While this was clearly apparent already in the speeches of Comrade Pavlovich, the straightforward interpretation given by Comrade Rusov put the dots on the *i*'s. The congress has gradually reduced to nil the influence which the local committees can exercise on the general course of Party work. Congresses have become something problematical: the Council may even fail to call a congress for two years, since it is obliged to call one only 'so far as possible'; the composition of congresses is determined in such a way that there is no guarantee of their independence. Having safeguarded the Council in this way from interference by the Party, the congress has given it, in fact, discretionary power. If three members of the Party Council were to be from the Central Organ, the Central Committee would be converted into a mere tool of the editorial board. Three persons residing abroad would obtain the unrestricted right to order the work of the entire Party. Their security would be guaranteed and their power would therefore be lifelong. Such an order of things is completely intolerable in the Party.

*Zasulich* agreed with the statement of the problem that had been given by Comrade Martov. The objection that four members of the Council could not elect a fifth was groundless: if an institution like the Council proved incapable of electing a fifth member, then that meant the institution was ineffectual generally.

*Pavlovich*: None of the objections made have convinced me. Nor did Comrade Yegorov's speech convince me. I am not alarmed by the fear expressed here by Comrade Akimov when he said that my proposal would fix the Party on a certain direction and prevent any other direction appearing in Russia from having any influence on the source of Party affairs. I stand, indeed, for the stability and purity of the principles represented by *Iskra*. By giving preponderance to the editorial board of the Central Organ, I want to fortify these principles. By adopting the first or the third formulation we incur the risk that within a year the Council may have completely changed its physiognomy.<sup>1</sup>

*Goldblatt* considered the idea of two centres, with the Council co-ordinating them, to be inexpedient. Either the Council would be a temporary institution, in which case it was superfluous, or it would be a permanent one, in which case it differed in no way from the CC as it must be in fact and not as it was imagined here. Then all those

inconveniences would reappear which had been mentioned here, as regards differences between the activity in Russia and abroad.

*At Posadovsky's suggestion, the movers of all three resolutions were allowed to speak last in the debate, each being given five minutes.<sup>2</sup>*

**Martov:** The entire discussion has confirmed my conviction that the first formulation is the best. The argument that a body of four men would be unable to come to a decision did not convince me: after all, in the CC there could be four persons who could not adopt a particular decision owing to the division of votes. I propose that the motion to delete the words 'the Council is the highest institution' be rejected. Our formulation deliberately leaves open the possibility of the Council developing into the highest Party institution. For us the Council is not merely a conciliation board.

**Lenin** considered Comrade Zasulich's arguments ill-conceived. The situation envisaged was already one of conflict, and in that event no rules would be of any help. By proposing that the fifth member be chosen by the four members of the Council we should bring this conflict into the rules. It was necessary to keep in mind that the Council was not only a conciliation board — that, for example, the rules gave the right to any two members of the Council to convene it.

**Yegorov:** Since my formulation unites the first and the second formulations, all that can be said for it has already been said. I shall therefore try to deal with some objections. First of all, about the impossibility of electing the fifth member. I think that such a blocked situation could come about in the Council on other questions too; for example, if two members hold one view and two another, and the fifth abstains. As for the impossibility of electing two members from each institution, that is a technical question; one could, for example, first elect (by secret ballot) two members of the CC to sit on the Party Council, and then the rest of the members of the CC.

**Chairman:** I will first put to the vote the resolutions which reject this paragraph altogether, namely, the resolutions moved by Comrades Abramson and Tsaryov.\*

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\* Abramson's resolution: 'The Central Committee of the Party is the Party's highest institution. Its task is to direct all the activity of the Party and to represent it in dealings with other parties. The Central Committee is elected by the congress, and numbers

*Both of these resolutions were rejected by a big majority.*

*The chairman having asked the congress to choose one of the commission's formulations as a basis,\* it chose the first of these.*

*Lyadov proposed that this paragraph be voted on in sections: (1) on the appointment of four members of the Council, (2) on the election of the fifth member, and (3) on the replacement of outgoing members.*

*This proposal was adopted and a vote taken first on the first section.*

*Gusev's formulation† was rejected by the majority.*

*Yegorov's formulation§ was also rejected by the majority, 23 to 15. Makhov's amendment, to replace the word 'send' by the words 'elect . . . , who are confirmed by the congress', was rejected by the majority.*

three persons, with the right of co-option. The Central Committee has the right to supervise the editorial board of the Central Organ. The editorial board of the Central Organ is elected by the Party congress.'

Tsaryov's resolution: 'The congress elects (or appoints) the editorial board of the central organ and the Executive Committee. General leadership and direction of all Party activity is entrusted to the Central Committee, which is composed of the Executive Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ *in corpore*.'

\* Resolution by two members of the commission: 'The Party Council is appointed by the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee, which send two members each to the Council; these four members of the Council invite a fifth; outgoing members of the Council are replaced by the institutions which have nominated them.'

Resolution by two other members of the commission: 'The Party Council is appointed by the congress, from members of the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee, and consists of five members, not less than two of whom must be from each of these bodies. Outgoing members of the Council are replaced by the Council itself.'

Resolution of the fifth member of the commission: 'The Party Council is elected by the Congress from two members of the Central Committee and two members of the editorial board of the Central Organ. The four elected members elect a fifth by unanimous vote. Outgoing members of the Council are replaced by those organisations to which they belong, with the exception of the fifth, who is replaced by the method mentioned above.'

† Gusev's resolution: 'The Party Council is composed of five members: three of these are elected by the congress and the other two are delegated by the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ.'

§ Yegorov's resolution: 'The Party Council is elected by the congress, with two members from the Central Committee and two from the editorial board of the Central Organ.'

*The first section of paragraph 4, as formulated in the resolution (the first) of the two members of the commission was adopted by 27 votes with eight abstentions.*

*The second section was voted on. By 23 votes to 18, with seven abstentions, the formula of the resolution submitted by Rusov and Hertz\* was adopted.*

*Akimov's proposal that the fifth member of the Council be invited from among the comrades active in Russia was rejected.*

*Lenin moved an amendment.†*

*Fomin said that this proposal was unacceptable, since the congress had already decided that the Council should be appointed by the CC and the editorial board of the Central Organ.*

*Lenin said that we were now talking not about the appointment of the Council but about the replacement of outgoing members, and so his proposition was not in contradiction to what had already been decided.*

*Lenin's amendment was rejected by 23 votes to 16.*

*Panin's proposal§ was rejected by the majority.*

*Yegorov's amendment was adopted: this was to add, after the words 'by the institutions which nominated them' the words: 'with the exception of the fifth, who is to be replaced by the Council.'*

*Lenin proposed to add also the words: 'in the event that he (i.e., the fifth member of the Council) does not belong to either of the bodies'. This amendment was rejected by the majority.*

*The whole of the first part of Paragraph 4, as amended, was voted on and adopted by 40 to 7, with 3 abstentions.*

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\* Resolution by Rusov and Hertz: 'The fifth member of the Council is appointed by the congress.'

† Lenin's resolution: 'Outgoing members of the Council are replaced by the Council itself.'

§ Panin's resolution: 'The fifth member, elected by the congress, cannot belong to either of the bodies (the Central Organ or the Central Committee).'

*The congress passed to the second part of Paragraph 4. (See Party rules, Article 5, paragraph 2.)*

*Panin's amendment – to delete the words 'and represents the Party in dealings with other parties' — was rejected.*

*Lenin's amendment – to replace the last phrase by the following: 'if the entire membership of one of these institutions is put out of action' — was adopted.*

*Makhov's proposal\* was rejected. Also rejected were amendments (1) by Trotsky, proposing that the end of the second part should read: 'in cases where no more than two members of these institutions are left'; (2) by Kostrov, for inserting the words: 'possess the power of supreme leadership of the Party and represent it in dealings'; (3) by Panin, to delete the words 'the Party Council is the Party's highest institution'; (4) by Panin, to delete in the third part, 'or two members of the Council'; and (5) by Kostrov, to add after 'highest' the word 'permanent'.*

*Yegorov's proposal, to rearrange two phrases in the second part, was adopted.*

*After this, the second and third parts of Paragraph 4 were adopted by an overwhelming majority (6 against and 4 abstentions).*

*The session was closed.*

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\* Makhov's resolution: 'All members of the Council live permanently abroad, and those going into Russia must be replaced in advance.'

## Twenty-Sixth Session

*(Present, 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The rapporteur of the rules commission, Glebov, read paragraph 5 of the draft rules and the note to this (see paragraph 6 of the rules and note thereto) and conveyed the opinion of the minority, which wanted to add a second note\* restricting the right of the CC to dissolve local committees. The majority of the commission, including the rapporteur, considered that the rights of the CC ought not to be restricted in this connection, since it might be necessary for the CC to take emergency measures.*

**Panin:** I find the second version of this paragraph just as unsatisfactory as the first one. No perspective is observed here: all the functions of the CC which are listed are lumped together, regardless of their degree of importance. In addition, it is not emphasised with sufficient clarity that, among its other functions, the CC is responsible for directing political agitation. In defining the activity of the CC it would be best to confine ourselves to a single general formula, as is done in the rules when the activity of the editorial board of the Central Organ is defined. And in this case we could be satisfied with the words: 'The Central Committee co-ordinates and directs all the Party's practical activity.' But since the functions of the CC are numerous and very complex, I think it necessary that the most important of them be listed. I propose the following formulation for this paragraph.†

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\* Resolution by the minority of the commission: 'The Central Committee has no right to dissolve local committees, associations of committees and other organisations equivalent to these, without the agreement of the Party Council, and an organisation can be dissolved only if it (1) deliberately refrains from implementing a decision of a congress, or (2) is composed of unreliable elements.'

† Panin's resolution: 'The Central Committee unifies and directs all the Party's practical work: it endorses committees, directs political agitation, distributes the Party's



*Popov* defended the note which he and Yegorov had proposed. It was necessary to say to the CC that this was an emergency measure and could be employed only in emergency cases.

*Martov* defended the view of the majority of the commission. The note was unnecessary. There was no need to stress that, since the Central Committee would in any case deliberate before deciding on so serious a step as the dissolution of an organisation. Panin's amendment was uncalled-for, and it failed to enumerate all the functions of the CC. Martov was against substituting the word 'endorses' for the word 'organises'. It must be given the right to organise as well.

*Lieber* agreed with Panin's formulation, provided that it be added that the CC directs those undertakings which possess importance for the Party as a whole. He did not agree with Martov that 'organises' was better than 'endorses'. Only if work was already going on in a locality could an organisation be set up. It had already been stated that the CC distributed the Party's forces. That ought to be enough for the CC. He thought it necessary to stress the right of the CC to issue political, agitational leaflets. He considered the second note naive. If a provocateur was present in an organisation it would be dissolved much sooner than the CC would do this. The mention of deliberate failure to carry out decisions was quite unnecessary, since the CC had the power to distribute forces: he could not imagine how any committee could barricade itself against the CC.

*Glebov* quoted a case from the Northern Association, saying that though there was a provocateur in the given organisation, it did not want to be dissolved. In such cases it was necessary, not only in the interests of the organisation concerned but also in that of other, neighbouring organisations, that the CC should have the right to dissolve an organisation.

*Martov*: Lieber himself is naive in the way he restricts the application of the word 'unreliable'. Here the word is used in a different sense.

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forces and resources, settles conflicts, both between different organisations and inside them, manages the central treasury and technical enterprises common to the whole party, etc.'

*Yegorov:* The word 'unreliable' also means something different for us. The note confers a broad but nevertheless limited degree of authority.

*Lange:* An important defect in the draft is that although a great deal is enumerated in it, not much prominence is given to the political role — the organisation of general demonstrations. I propose that we put at the beginning: 'The CC co-ordinates and directs all the Party's political work, so that . . .'

*Panin's proposal was rejected.*

*Lange's amendment was rejected by all against three. Abramson's amendment (to insert in Article 5 the words: 'The CC is appointed by the Party congress, and consists of three persons') was rejected by all against four.*

*Paragraph 5 as a whole (without the notes) was adopted by all against three, with three abstentions (see Paragraph 6 of the rules).*

*The second note (proposed by the minority of the commission) was rejected.*

*The first note was adopted by 37 to 5.*

*Glebov* proposed that from Paragraph 4, as adopted, the following phrase be extracted: 'The congress appoints the fifth member of the Party Council, the CC, and the editorial board of the Central Organ', and that this phrase be made a special paragraph no. 5, so that the paragraph now being adopted would be no. 6.

*This proposal was adopted by 29 to 2, with 9 abstentions.*

*Lieber* proposed that in Paragraph 5 the word 'appoints' be replaced by 'elects'.

*This proposal was rejected by 24 to 13.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss Paragraph 7.*

*Goldblatt* proposed that the whole of Paragraph 7 be rejected, since it was either unnecessary or harmful.

*Lenin* did not agree with Goldblatt. There must be supervision of Party publications.<sup>1</sup>

**Akimov:** What does Lenin understand by the words: 'follows Party publications'? Does this mean that we are to have a preliminary censorship?

**Lenin:** If I follow English publications, does that mean that I exercise a preliminary censorship over them?

*Paragraph 7 was adopted by 35 to 4, with five abstentions.*

*Points a, b and c of Paragraph 3 were then discussed.*

**Glebov:** The majority of the commission proposes to give the Council five votes at the congress, and the CC and the editorial board of the Central Organ one vote each. The minority proposes that neither the CC nor the editorial board have any representatives.

**Popov** supported the opinion of the minority. The CC and the editorial board were already represented at the congress by those of their members who were on the Party Council.

**Lyadov:** Those members of the CC and the editorial board who were on the Party Council might not be suitable as representatives of those organisations at the congress.

**Deutsch:** The members of the Party Council may not be the right persons to report to the congress on the situation in their organisations. The highest organisations of the Party should be represented at the congress as such.

**Akimov:** The Council must be present at the congress, but it should not be given a deciding vote, only a consultative voice. There are no grounds for giving a deciding vote to the Party's executive organs when the Party is discussing the activity of these very organs. I therefore move the following resolution.\*

*Akimov's resolution was voted on and rejected by all against three.*

*An amendment by Fomin, to insert 'members, each with one vote' was adopted by all against two.*

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\* Akimov's resolution: 'The Party Council is present at the congress *in corpore*, with consultative voice. The Central Committee and the Central Organ have one representative each.'

*The proposal by the minority of the commission\* was rejected.*

*Orlov's proposal† was rejected.*

*Paragraph 3 in its new version was adopted by all against three, with seven abstentions.*

*Paragraph 8 was discussed.*

*Karsky considered the paragraph ill-drafted and proposed that after 'exclusively' there be inserted 'to the area of their activity'.*

*Gusev proposed that the second part of Paragraph 9 be transferred to Paragraph 8, and that Paragraph 8 take this form (see note§).*

*The proposals by Karsky and Gusev were rejected.*

*Paragraph 8 was adopted by all against two, with seven abstentions.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss paragraph 9.*

*Kostrov proposed to insert, after the words 'all decisions by the CC' — 'relating to the affairs of the Party as a whole'.*

*Kostich proposed that the end be omitted, as there was already a point about submitting to all the decisions of the CC.*

*Lieber: May the CC set up, alongside already existing organisations, other destined to carry out the same functions as the existing ones?*

*Glebov: I think that the CC will not set up new organisations to carry out exactly similar functions, but we shall set up organisations to perform those functions which are not being performed by the existing ones.*

*The amendments by Kostrov and Kostich were rejected.*

*Paragraph 9 was adopted by all against four, with one abstention.*

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\* Resolution by the minority of the commission: 'The Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ are not represented at a congress.'

† Orlov's resolution: 'The Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ each have the right to send two delegates, each of whom has one vote.'

§ Gusev's resolution: 'All organisations joining the Party enjoy autonomy in their internal affairs, within the limits set by the instructions of the Central Committee.'

*Paragraph 10 was discussed.*

*Martov* was against private individuals having the right to demand that their statements be conveyed to the centre.

*Yegorov* thought it would not be in accordance with the democratic character of the Party if everyone were not to have the right to bring his statements to the notice of the centre.

*Lenin* favoured keeping this passage: nobody ought to be barred from taking his appeal to the centre. This was a necessary condition of centralisation.

*Lyadov* considered that *Lenin's* desire was unrealisable.

*Deutsch* quoted the example that in the days of *Narodnaya Volya* outside persons, such as schismatics,<sup>2</sup> were able to approach the centre. Similar cases might arise today. For instance, a military organisation might wish to have talks with the centre.

*Martov's amendment, to delete the words 'and everyone who has any dealings with the Party' was rejected by 25 to 13.*

*Yegorov's amendment, to add 'and to the Party Council', was rejected by 24 to 14.*

*Paragraph 10 as a whole was adopted by 38 to one, with seven abstentions.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss Paragraph 11.*

*Glebov* defended the right of the editorial board of the Central Organ to have direct knowledge of the membership of local committees. In the event of the entire Central Committee disappearing it would then be known who was available to replace them. In addition, the editorial board needed to know everything in order to have a clear idea of the Party's forces and situation.

*Lieber*: I don't understand why the editorial board needs to know that in a particular town *Ivan Ivanovich* is living and working. I am amazed that such a proposal can be made. It is impossible.

*Karsky*: *Lieber* took advantage of *Glebov's* unfortunate presentation. I don't think that the point here is the personnel. What is more important is the reports on the movement which the committees ought to send to the editorial board.

*Lange*: I see nothing odd in this proposal. It means that the editorial board should possess the addresses and code-words.

*Kostrov*: The editorial board should know everything, but that is a matter for its own discretion. For it to be acquainted with the entire personnel is a fantastic notion.

*Trotsky*: It is not a matter of regular periodical reports — if the editorial board needs reports it will ask for them. And they may be useful in order to throw light on some interesting developments.

*Lieber's proposal, to delete the whole of the point under discussion, was rejected by 24 to 19.*

*A proposal to omit the words 'and all its members' was rejected by 23 to 19.*

*Paragraph 11 as a whole was adopted by 27 to 12, with seven abstentions.*

*The rapporteur* read paragraph 12 and proposed that *co-option* to the CC should take place on a basis of *unanimity*. It was necessary that in such a close organisation there should be complete unanimity.

*Yegorov* considered 'four-fifths' was illogical: why not 'three-quarters'? In general, it was impossible to express what was needed by means of an arithmetical fraction. As he saw it, what was needed was that there should be no dissonances: it would be enough to require a simple majority without a reasoned veto by any member.

*Popov* was against 'four-fifths' and against a reasoned veto. He thought there should be either a simple majority or else unanimity.

*Martov* could not agree either with Comrade Glebov or with Comrade Yegorov. The requirement of complete unanimity could make the CC an exclusive group. I agree that there should be no friction, and for that reason I am against a qualified majority. I admit the psychological impossibility of working with unpleasant persons. But it is also important to us that our organisation be viable and effectual. I think that provision for a single reasoned protest, such as Comrade Yegorov suggests, is not enough to safeguard us against the caprice of one individual inspired by personal antipathy, and so I advocate that two such protests must be required. The right of the CC and the editorial board to mutual control in cases of *co-option* is unnecessary.

It is not because I think that one is not competent in the sphere of the other that I am against it. No; the editorial board might be able, for instance, to give the CC sound advice as to whether Mr Nadezhdin,<sup>3</sup> say, should be admitted to the CC. I object because I don't want to create mutually exasperating 'red tape'.

*Lenin:* There are two questions here. The first is that of the qualified majority, and I am against lowering it from four-fifths to two-thirds. The introduction of a reasoned protest would show a lack of foresight and I am against it. Incomparably more important is the second question, the right of the Central Committee and the Central Organ to mutual control over co-option. The mutual accord of the two central bodies is an essential condition for harmony. What is involved here is a possible rupture between the two central bodies. Whoever does not want a split should be concerned to safeguard harmony. We know from the history of the Party that there have been people who have caused splits. It is a question of principle, a very important question, one on which the whole future of the Party may depend.

*Trotsky:* As regards the majority required for co-option, I favour two-thirds, because then, with three members, two will have the right to co-opt. As for mutual control, the fact that this requirement was not included in the preliminary draft, but has appeared subsequently, makes it clear that Lenin is not quite in the right on the matter. It is obvious that this point does not possess such universal preventive significance as some here are trying to ascribe to it. The right of mutual control places the CC and the Central Organ in unequal conditions. The editorial board is a group of persons who are already well practised in working together, and it will rarely need to seek the approval of the CC, whereas the CC will constantly be needing to consult the editorial board. The Party Council exists to co-ordinate the activity of the two centres. The autonomous status of each centre has been talked of, and has been endorsed, but what sort of autonomy is it that doesn't include the centre's right to decide its own composition?

*Kostich:* We cannot expel so easily as we can co-opt, and so a larger majority is required for the expulsion of members.

*Lange* considered that there was a contradiction in the arguments of some of the speakers, in that they were now speaking in favour of what previously they had opposed.

*Martov:* In relation to the question as it has arisen now, the point about autonomy is deprived of any meaning. Control is necessary: I agree with that. But this control is also effected by the Party Council. As a member of the editorial board, I do not understand how a simple majority of the members of another institution can be decisive in this question which has been decided by four-fifths of the given organisation. The aim which Lenin seeks to achieve will be accomplished by the Council. Mutual control, mutual surveillance, can only create unnecessary occasions for misunderstanding and ill-will.

*Yegorov:* I understand why Lenin is skipping from one leg to the other: the reason is that the rules themselves are lame. If the Council can reconstitute the entire CC and the editorial board of the Central Organ, why can it not be trusted in the matter of co-option?

*Deutsch:* The question about whether the required majority should be four-fifths or two-thirds is not important. What is important is the question of mutual control. I am against such control, which would give rise to a lot of 'red tape'. This motion is undoubtedly designed for the given moment. But with the passage of time, when the CC is established in position and at work, this rule will cause impossible delays. I would remind comrades of the muddle that occurred when we were corresponding with the *Borba* group.

*Lenin:* If the rules are lame in one leg, Comrade Yegorov is making them lame in both. The Council co-opts only in exceptional cases. Complete confidence is needed by both sides, both centres, precisely because this is a complicated mechanism. Without complete mutual confidence, successful joint work is not possible and the whole question of correct functioning together is closely bound up with the right of co-option. The problem of technical difficulties is being exaggerated to no purpose by Comrade Deutsch.

*Martov:* The question is not at all such a matter of principle as Lenin makes it out to be. This delicate point presupposes that which has to be achieved. We must not count on there always being an ideal state of agreement. We have an institution that will not allow differences to grow into constant conflict.

*The congress proceeded to vote. By 25 to 19 it adopted Glebov's proposal to add, after the phrase 'for co-option of new members, and for their*



expulsion, four-fifths of the votes are needed', *the words*: 'except in the case of the CC, co-option to which requires unanimity'.

*Fomin's amendment*, for 'a majority of two-thirds, without two reasoned protests', *was adopted by 27 to 21*.

*Lenin* moved an amendment to Fomin's amendment: 'without one reasoned protest'. *This was adopted by 21 to 19*.

*Pavlovich's amendment* – 'co-option to the editorial board of the Central Organ is to take place on a basis of unanimity' – *was adopted by 23 to 21*.

*Martov's proposal*\* *was adopted by 24 to 22*.

*The session was closed.*

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\* **Martov's resolution**: 'A reasoned protest against a decision by any Party organisation on co-option or expulsion of members is appealable to the Party Council, which is given the right to countermand it.'

## Twenty-seventh Session

*(Present: 43 delegates with 51 mandates and  
12 persons with consultative voice.)*

*Voting on Paragraph 12 of the rules continued.*

*Martov's proposal on co-option\* was voted on and adopted by 26 to 24.*

*Lenin moved an amendment.*

*Panin asked that the arguments for this proposal be presented.*

*Martov proposed that a discussion take place on Lenin's amendment, with two speakers allowed on each side.*

*Martov's proposal was voted on and adopted by 27 to 16.*

*Trotsky:* I cannot say that Lenin's amendment was not clear. Comrade Lenin proposes that the Council re-decide the decisions of one of the central bodies, and that means interfering in their field of work. Considering that the CC and the editorial board must be autonomous and independent, I think that principles of unity should exist between them, and that moral unity should exist within them.

*Martov:* I agree with what Trotsky has said. Our original draft is being altered to an increasing extent, and in a very undesirable direction. We started out with two centres, and then we reverted to the idea of a single centre. We have arrived at the point where not only

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\* Martov's resolution: 'Co-option of new members to either body is to be effected only by a majority and in the absence of more than one reasoned protest. The point about mutual co-option is deleted.'

† Lenin's resolution: 'Co-option of members to the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ is admissible only with the agreement of all members of the Party Council.'

does a member have to be accepted unanimously, but co-option is to require unanimity of both bodies. In this way we lay the basis for constant war between the bodies, and war, moreover, about questions concerning individuals. If in all the CC not one righteous man is to be found to prevent acceptance, and if no such righteous man is to be found in the Council either, where then can an appeal be lodged? From the standpoint of the tasks which the supporters of unanimity wish to accomplish, we are going too far. Why introduce unanimity into the Central Organ and the CC when we consider this inadequate?

*Lenin:* I will reply briefly to both objections. Comrade Martov says I propose unanimity of both bodies for co-option of members: that is not true. The congress decided not to give the right of veto to every one of the members of two perhaps rather large bodies, but this does not mean that we cannot give this power to the institution which co-ordinates all the activity involved in the combined work of the two centres. Such combined work by the two centres calls for complete unanimity and even unity at the personal level, and this is possible only if co-option is unanimous. After all, if two members consider that co-option is necessary, they can convene the Party Council.<sup>1</sup>

*By roll-call vote Comrade Lenin's amendment was rejected by 27 to 22. [This roll-call vote is not in the minutes.]*

*Deutsch* moved a resolution\* which was adopted by 22 to 2.

*Martov* moved another resolution.†

*Lenin:* Martov's amendment contradicts the point already adopted about unanimity in co-option to the CC and the Central Organ.

*Martynov* considered that the amendment did not in any way contradict the point which had been adopted, as that had stated that the CC and the Central Organ could not decide otherwise than unanimously, but this did not rule out the possibility of an appeal to the Council.

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\* *Deutsch's* resolution: 'The Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ must inform each other of the co-option of members.'

† *Martov's* resolution: 'In a case when unanimity on the co-option of new members to the Central Committee or the editorial board of the Central Organ has not been attained, the question of the acceptance of a member may be referred to the Council, and in the event of its cassation of the decision by the body in question, the latter's final decision is to be taken by a simple majority.'

*Martov:* The explanation given by Comrade Lenin runs counter to his interpretation of the amendment which he has moved. I propose that a minority which is dissatisfied with the decision of a majority be given the right to appeal for a decision to the Party Council.

*Lenin:* Comrade Martov's interpretation is wrong, for such an exception contradicts unanimity. I appeal to the congress and ask it to decide whether Comrade Martov's amendment should be put to the vote.

*By a majority of 25 to 19 it was decided to vote on Martov's amendment, which was then adopted by 24 to 23.*

*Paragraph 12 as a whole was then adopted, by 38 to 2.*

*The rapporteur of the rules commission read paragraph 13, and in his résumé advocated omitting this point from that day's discussion, and referring it to the CC.*

*Yegorov* supported *Glebov*: Since the rules do not list all the organisations, I do not understand why preference should be given to one of them. I propose that the question be dropped now and brought up again when we discuss organisations.

*Deutsch* supported *Glebov's* proposal, but thought the CC could not be given the task of deciding the question, and proposed that it be passed to the Party Council.

*Akimov* spoke against paragraph 13, as it seemed to him strange that only the League was mentioned, whereas the Union of Russian Social-Democrats existed, and had been endorsed by the First Congress. For this reason the question must be presented not as the question of the League but as that of the Foreign Committee of the Party.

*Deutsch* considered Comrade *Akimov's* objection groundless, as the organisation of the League was continually enlarging its activity, while that of the Union was continually declining. Therefore Comrade *Deutsch* proposed that the question of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, or of the Party's Foreign Committee, be referred to the Council.

*Lenin:* I am not going to argue with Comrades *Glebov* and *Deutsch* on the substance of the matter, but I thought we needed to mention

the League in the rules; first, because everyone knows that it exists; secondly, so as to take note of the representation of the League in the Party under the old rules; thirdly, because all the other organisations have the status of committees, and the League is brought in so as to indicate its special position.

*Martov:* I am in favour of the League being mentioned in the rules. Although there are several organisations in existence abroad, one cannot put the Union on a par with the League, which has alone in recent years been linked with the movement in Russia.

*Akimov:* It seems to me that alteration of paragraph 13 is so obviously necessary that it should be done without any dispute. But since, nevertheless, this paragraph has found defenders, I must say something about it. Let me first make the reservation that I do not attach any particular practical significance to which way the question is decided. The ideological struggle which has been going on in our Party is undoubtedly not over yet; but it will be continued on a different plane and with a different alignment of forces. For this reason the separate existence of the Union, which is impossible from the standpoint of Party unity, is also unnecessary from that of those who do not agree with the majority.

But this question has great significance for me from the standpoint of principle.

Paragraph 13 of the rules once more reflects, and in a very marked way, the tendency to convert our congress from a Party congress into a factional congress.

Instead of causing all Social-Democrats in Russia to defer to the decisions of the Party Congress in the name of Party unity, by uniting all Party organisations, it is proposed that the congress should destroy the organisation of the minority and make the minority disappear from the scene. Such is, in general, the tendency of the majority at this congress, and I want this to be exposed and given sufficiently clear expression, and that is why I am bringing up this question. If this is not the case, the congress must reject paragraph 13 of the draft rules or replace it with another. I propose the following wording: 'All Party organisations abroad are united in the Foreign Committee of the Party, which (then, as in the draft rules) enjoys the rights all other committees, with the exception,' and so on.

*Trotsky:* Comrade Akimov has done the Union an ill service. We

thought paragraph 13 was a technical matter, and he has made it a matter of principle. And since it is so, then we must, of course, agree that the League ought to be included in the rules, since it is the bearer of the principle which united the majority at the congress.

*Yegorov:* While sympathising with Comrades Lenin and Trotsky, I nevertheless think that it would be better to put the question of the foreign organisations in a general way, and I repeat that paragraph 13 expresses the desire of the congress to declare officially that the League represents the Party abroad. I move this amendment: the organisations abroad have the right to communicate with the organisation in Russia through the CC.

*Karsky:* The comrades who have lived or are living outside Russia must know how important are our organisations that exist abroad. I think that the comrades will agree with me that now that the idea of unity is established in Russia, we must desire that outside Russia too this unity ought to be achieved, under the name of the League. This unity is needed both morally and materially, and not only the Union but also the Foreign Committee of the Bund should enter the League, so that we do not have a multitude of separate organisations.

*Lieber:* Comrade Akimov, as the representative of the Union, has the formal right to demand that the Union be included in the rules. We must not forget that this is the second congress, but this fact is being forgotten, when such forgetting is needed, and if we are not to repudiate beforehand the Union which was endorsed by the First Congress we cannot adopt a new representative. This same idea I thought proper to express in connection with *Rabochaya Gazeta* and *Iskra*, as well, and I do not understand why Trotsky should call on the separate organisations to bow down.

*Martov:* I do not understand the fervour with which Comrade Lieber discusses this question. If, however, Comrade Akimov wants to make the issue one of principle, we have nothing against it; especially as Comrade Akimov has spoken of possible combinations in a struggle between two trends. The victory of one trend must be sanctioned not in the sense that we make another bow to *Iskra*, but in the sense that we bow a last farewell to all the possible 'combinations' Comrade Akimov spoke of.

*It was proposed that the list of speakers be closed, and this was done.*

*Martynov:* What Comrade Akimov said has been wrongly interpreted. It was claimed that Comrade Akimov made the question one of principle, and we are taking up this challenge. But Comrade Akimov said clearly that in so far as there will be a struggle in the future, too, between different trends, it will be fought out on other planes and with new combinations of forces, and will have nothing to do with the question of the Union. Nor did Comrade Akimov claim for the Union the right to be the representative of the Party abroad; he merely spoke against a decision that would exclude the Union from the Party.

*Akimov:* Comrade Trotsky considers that I did an ill service to my organisation by raising this question: it could have been settled later, without any fuss, but since I raised it, the congress must settle it to the disadvantage of the Union. But Comrade Trotsky is wrong in thinking that I only want to obtain some concessions or indulgences for the Union. I want it to be clearly stated whether or not the congress wishes to achieve unity of all Party forces, or admission by the dissidents that they have been vanquished; and Comrade Trotsky himself answered this question, when he said: 'this congress must be the triumph of a trend'. Comrade Deutsch's statement that in recent months the Union has done less and less, and the League more and more, cannot have any significance. The Union has been carrying on its activity not for a few months but for five years: the congress has not yet heard its report and cannot, without having discussed its activity, take a decision which indirectly closes down, without giving any reasons, an old Party organisation which, by the will of the First Congress, bears the title of a committee. Comrade Karsky's arguments are even more groundless. This is not a dispute about whether the Union ought to exist independently of any other organisation abroad. We are all agreed that there ought to be only one, united organisation abroad; but this should be formed not by recognising one organisation and suppressing the others but by uniting them all into one. As to Comrade Martov's opinion that my hopes of a new trend appearing in our Party are in vain, let me say that even he himself inspires me with such hopes.

*Yegorov:* I have modified my amendment so as to avoid misunderstanding. I am against the existence of two organisations abroad.

*Lenin:* It seems to me that the upshot of the discussion is that it is desirable for this point to be retained in the rules.

*Brouckère:* In my opinion the desire that all the organisations be united into one does not mean that this organisation should bear the name of one of the existing organisations, and I oppose this.

*The amendments to Paragraph 13 were voted on.*

*Akimov's amendment was rejected by the majority, with two votes in favour.*

*Yegorov's proposal* ('The Organisation Abroad, endorsed by the congress or by the Party Council, renders support to the movement in Russia not otherwise than through persons and groups specially designated by the Central Committee') *was rejected by 27 to 15.*

*Glebov's proposal to drop Paragraph 13 was rejected by 26 to 19.*

*Rusov* proposed to insert the word 'sole' before 'organisation abroad'.

*Lieber* considered that to adopt such an amendment would be irregular, since it would exclude from the Party all the other organisations abroad.

*Rusov:* I merely wanted to say that there should be only one organisation abroad.

*Martynov:* We shall be voting on what Comrade Rusov said, not on what he meant to say.

*Yegorov:* Rusov's proposal is not acceptable because it would slaughter all the other organisations abroad whose representatives we have here. Those organisations should not be killed off until the last session, so as not to put their delegates in an awkward position.

*Chairman:* I do not see any slaughtering here, or any other dreadful thing, since I believe that agreement is possible, and that all sections can enter into a single organisation. The Bureau proposes that Rusov's amendment be put to the vote.

*Yegorov:* I request the Bureau to record in the minutes that I not only did not take part in the voting but was not even present at it. [*He then left the hall.*]

*Chairman:* Please do not take offence. We have not yet put Comrade Rusov's amendment to the vote.

*Lieber:* The Bureau has no right to put this amendment to the vote.



*Chairman:* Comrade Lieber's objection that we have no right to put this amendment to the vote is unfounded. We appeal to the congress: who considers it *inadmissible* to put Comrade Rusov's amendment to the vote?

*By 27 to 15 Rusov's amendment was accepted as admissible for voting on.*

*Karsky (on a point of order):* Comrade Yegorov seems more sensitive to Comrade Rusov's amendment than those whom this amendment affects.

*The Chairman* checked Karsky, as his speech had nothing to do with a point of order.

*Lieber:* I propose that the following be adopted: 'All organisations abroad except the League are abolished.'

*The vote was taken. Lieber's proposal was rejected by all against nine. Rusov's amendment was adopted by 25 to 17.*

*Brouckère's proposal* ('All the organisations abroad to be united into one') *was rejected by the majority, with one vote in favour.*

*Paragraph 13 as a whole was adopted by 31 to 12, with six abstentions. (Comrade Yegorov was absent.)*

*The rules as a whole were adopted by 42 to six, with one abstention.*

*The congress proceeded to discuss the question of national organisations, and the Bund in particular.*

*The rapporteur of the rules commission:* The commission has not discussed the question of national organisations, and so I propose that this question be discussed in the general assembly. As the basis for discussion I propose that we take the nine paragraphs of the rules put forward by the Bund. [See notes to Seventh Session.]

*Glebov:* These nine points in the Bund's rules are different in nature, and in order to facilitate the work of the congress I should like to group them in a certain way. I think that some of these points will not arouse any objection, whereas the second, third and fifth of them possess cardinal importance. The most cardinal of them is point two, and I suggest that the congress begin its discussion of the Bund question with this point.

*Yegorov (as a formal statement):* Comrade Glebov's words do not

express the view of the commission, which has not met to consider this matter.

*Chairman:* The Bureau finds that Comrade Glebov has the right, after reading the Bund's rules, to express his personal opinion on the order in which the paragraphs should be discussed.

*Popov:* Comrade Yegorov is not blaming Comrade Glebov but merely explaining that what Comrade Glebov said was his own opinion and not that of the rules commission.

*Chairman:* I put it to the vote: who is against our proceeding to discuss point 2 first of all? Nobody.

*Martov:* In view of the fact that point 2 of the Bund's draft rules is strongly marked by federalism, towards which we have already taken up our position of principle, in connection with the first item on our agenda, I will here merely tell the comrades of the experience of a federal organisation of the local proletariat, which took place in Riga. This letter was sent to our congress by the Riga comrades. [*Reads the letter: see Appendix V.*]

*The speaker* then summarised another letter which clarified and supplemented the first, and drew the conclusion that the formula adopted by the Bund legitimised and perpetuated separatism, whereas we know that hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers are united in quite different organisations. 'I propose that point 2 be completely deleted without being replaced by any corresponding point. I propose that the area of activity of the Bund be not defined, as this area cannot be defined.'

*Lieber:* First of all, I want to put a formal question to Comrade Martov about the letter he read to us. How could a 'Riga Group of Russian Social-Democrats' who *had not been invited to the congress* send a letter to *this congress*? I want him to answer regarding the essence of the matter, which was not dealt with either in this 'letter' or in Comrade Martov's speech. What is this letter about? About a number of failures to form an organisation in Riga and get going a broad workers' movement among the proletariat of all the nations living in Riga. But we could just as well blame *Iskra* for not having succeeded in organising a Russian movement in a whole number of towns — even, for example, in Moscow. The writers of this letter and Comrade Martov have, evidently, such a fantastic notion of the revolutionary

might of the Jewish Social-Democrats that, as they see it, these 'giants', the Jewish Social-Democrats, would have only to turn their attention to the Russian proletariat in Riga for tens of thousands of these proletarians, as though by the waving of a magician's wand, at once to become revolutionised. As for us, we do not consider that we need discuss any further the stupid fantasies which make up the essence of the accusations brought against us.

Instead of replying to the writers of the letter or to Comrade Martov regarding these accusations, I shall permit myself to make some little 'historical allusions'. With the light touch of *Iskra*, a large section of our Russian comrades have kept on asserting that once upon a time 'the Bund' was 'a good thing', that, generally speaking, everything used to be fine, but that since that unlucky fourth congress of the Bund, everything has changed: since then, 'of course', our 'nationalism' and 'separatism', and so on and so forth, have appeared. This sort of statement is taken as truth, because a large section of our comrades, especially those working in Russia, have very little knowledge of the past history of the RSDLP. The historical documents from which I shall quote a few passages show best the utter unsoundness of the charge brought against us. In 1895, that is, *two years before the foundation of the Bund*, this was said in one of our pamphlets: 'This is why we had firmly to recognise that our aim, *the aim of the Social-Democrats working in the Jewish milieu, was to create a special Jewish workers' organisation*, which would be the leader and educator of the Jewish proletariat in the struggle for economic, civil and political emancipation' (*A Turning-Point in the History of the Jewish Labour Movement*, page 19). In 1898, that is, directly after the founding of the Bund, there appeared our pamphlet *The Struggle of the PPS Against the Jewish Labour Movement*, which was printed in *Rabotnik*, no. 5-6. This pamphlet was a reply to a number of attacks made by the PPS against the Bund as soon as it came into existence, attacks which were almost identical with the accusations levelled against us by *Iskra*. Here is the resolution on the Bund which the PPS adopted at its Fourth Congress: 'Since the Jewish proletariat can have as its tasks only tasks which are the same as those of the proletariat and of the people among whom it lives; since the activity of the Jewish groups under the common titles of "General Jewish Workers' Union in Russia and Poland" is harmful to the movement, because its programmatic and organisational isolation frequently puts this union in a position of hostility to us — the congress therefore decides that the policy of this

union is incorrect, that it is not in solidarity with the policy of the Polish and Lithuanian proletariat in its fight for liberation from the Russian yoke.' (*Rabotnik*, no. 5-6, page 72.)

Thus, as you see, the same sort of accusation, just as unsubstantiated, as our adversaries bring against us now, was brought against us from the first day of our foundation. As everyone knows who has any knowledge at all of the history of the labour movement in Poland in recent years, all these insinuations have failed to prevent us (in spite of all the efforts of the PPS) from creating in Poland a very strong Social-Democratic movement among the Jewish proletariat, led by the Bund. The sharp rebuke, full of sarcasm and passion, in the charge levelled against us by the PPS, was published, as I mentioned, in the *Rabotnik*, which was edited by the 'Emancipation of Labour' group, without any comments by the editors. Along with our protest there was also published the protest of the 'Lithuanian Social-Democracy' against the PPS, which had denied to the Lithuanian proletariat, as well, the right to an independent organisation, and this also appeared without any comments by the editors. Evidently, what now seems to our opponents from *Iskra* to be 'nationalism' and 'separatism', and so on, seemed then quite natural and legitimate to the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group, all of whom entered the *Iskra* organisation and took part in its editorial work. Moreover, in the same issue of *Rabotnik* there appeared a translation of an article from No. 11 of *Arbeiterstimme*, our central organ, under the title: 'Our Aims'. This article set out the whole *profession de foi* of the Bund, showing the need for an independent organisation of the Jewish proletariat and its autonomous status in the Party. Our opponents have told us here that the need for the Bund was justified in the first years of its existence by merely technical considerations.

Quotations from this article, which appeared in 1898, immediately after the first congress of the Party — an article which, incidentally, was one of the results of that congress — show better than anything else can whether our opponents were right. Here is the first quotation: 'What the Party's attitude was to be towards organisations of whole nations is clear from the passage in the Manifesto which speaks of the conditions for the entry of the "Jewish Workers' Union" into the Party: "The General Jewish Workers' Union in Russia and Poland enters the Party as an autonomous organisation which retains its independence only as regards questions concerning the Jewish proletariat."

‘Or, putting it another way, we have to understand this in the following fashion: the position of the Jews in Russia, the policy of the Tsarist Government towards them, and other special features (as, for example, a distinct language) have given rise in the case of the Jewish proletariat to special interests requiring special defence. The defence of these special Jewish interests can be assumed by a separate Jewish organisation possessing the full right to defend them in whatever way it finds necessary, while the Party does not interfere in the activity of this Union. In respect of matters affecting the whole Russian proletariat, without distinction of nationality or religion, the “Jewish Union” is obliged, as a section of the Party, to submit to the CC.’ (*Rabotnik*, no. 5-6, p. 96.)

Just tell us what there is in the draft rules we have submitted that, in essentials, goes even a little way farther than what, in the opinion of those who took part in the First Congress, was expressed in its manifesto. And this understanding of the manifesto was, again, never objected to by our Russian comrades. I will give one more quotation, my last. This is how the article which I quoted concludes: ‘Thus, a separate Jewish workers’ organisation is desirable and necessary in the interests both of the Jewish and of the Christian proletariat. But only an organisation which has grown naturally out of the struggle of the Jewish proletariat against exploitation and is bound to it by thousands of ties can guard its interests and vigorously defend them, while at the same time facilitating the work of the Russian Party as a whole. The latter has understood that in these conditions its work can progress, and it is sufficiently developed politically to give independence, within certain limits, to a Jewish organisation.’ ‘The fact that the Russian Party understood its tasks correctly, that it did not merely promise but actually recognised the right of every nation to have its own independent workers’ organisation — all this provides the best guarantee that it will draw to itself all the live forces of the Russian proletariat and achieve through its activity the results that it expects.’

That is how we saw the question of the Bund’s position in the Party five years ago, just after the First Congress. These are the views we hold now, as well: these are the principles which underlie our draft rules. So it is not the Bund’s views that have changed, but views about the Bund. How are we to account for this? Why was it that until recently our Russian comrades did not notice these ‘harmful’ views of the Bund? The explanation is to be found in the tremendous growth of the Bund, on the one hand, and of the Russian labour movement, on

the other. So long as we, to use the expression of our comrade from the Mining and Metallurgical Association, 'stayed at home', that is, in Poland and Lithuania, our comrades did not come into contact with the Bund. Now there has again arisen before us all, the Russian comrades and the Bund alike, the urgent task of uniting all the Social-Democratic forces in Russian into a single Party, and our comrades have sharply altered their attitude towards the Bund, denying its very right to exist. But our comrades should not forget that, while for them this question of the Bund is the first page in the story, for us, who have been through a struggle with the PPS on almost the same ground, the clash with our Russian comrades is the second page in our story. During all this time our comrades have evidently forgotten everything and learnt nothing, and so I think it pointless here, at the second congress of the Party, after five years of brilliant activity by the Bund, to prove its right to exist. It is enough that we can be asked to supply such proof at the second congress of a Party into which we entered and in whose ranks we have done so much for the entire Social-Democratic movement in Russia. I can only repeat, as categorically as possible, the demand expressed in the first point of our rules: the Bund is and must be the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, in whatever part of the Russian state the Jewish proletariat lives and whatever language it speaks.

*Martov:* I am not clear on the answer to the question whether the Bund wishes to oblige all the local Russian committees to refrain from any dealings with even a single Jewish worker.

*Lieber:* I think the matter is clear. It is not a question of whether a particular organisation can work among the Jewish proletariat. Nobody denies that right. But the Bund is the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat in the Party.

*The Chairman:* The Bureau has been handed a statement from Comrades Akimov and Martynov: 'Recognising that by the adoption of Paragraph 13, as amended, the congress has indirectly expressed its decision to close down the Union before hearing its report and before discussing the item of the agenda on the endorsement of existing Party organisations, we, delegates of the Union, refuse from now on to take part in voting, and continue to be present at the congress only so as to hear the minutes of previous sessions and discuss how they are to be published. *Martynov, Akimov.*'

*Gorin* proposed that point 2 of the Bund's rules be split into two parts, which should be voted on separately.

*Lieber*: In the name of the Bund delegation I state that we shall not vote on the questions concerning the Bund.

*Trotsky*: *Lieber's* statement seems to me incomprehensible. The comrades from the Bund might have refused to vote if they were simply an interested party. But we are all interested equally in the settlement of this problem, and therefore the Bund delegation's refusal to vote on this question can only amount to a simple abstention.

*Abramson*: We do not want to make an incident out of this, and agree to vote.

*Chairman*: There are three ways in which you can vote: for, against, or abstention.

*The first part of paragraph 2 of the Bund's rules was voted on, and rejected by 39 to five, with eight abstentions, which included the two delegates from the Union. The second part of Paragraph 2 was also rejected by 39 to five, with eight abstentions. Paragraph 2 as a whole was rejected by 41 to five, with five abstentions.\**

*Lieber*: I ask to make a statement. On behalf of the whole Bund delegation I declare: in view of the fact that the congress has, by its last vote, rejected that point of principle, in the rules we presented, acceptance of which was made by our fifth congress the necessary condition for the Bund's being in the Party, we, on the basis of this decision of the fifth congress of the Bund, depart from the Party congress and announce that the Bund leaves the RSDLP. We shall send a special reasoned statement in writing to the second congress.<sup>2</sup>

*Makhov*: When the second point of the Bund's rules was voted on, a roll-call vote was taken, and so the best I could do was to abstain from voting. Since the result of this vote has been rejection of the entire point, and this was bound to have, and has had, the inevitable consequence of the departing of the Bund from the RSDLP, I think it

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\* Voters for Paragraph 2 of the Bund's draft rules were: Hofman, Goldblatt, Yudin, Lieber, Abramson. Abstentions were: Makhov (2 votes), Brouckère, Martynov and Akimov. The rest voted against.

necessary to explain to the congress the reasons why, in the given circumstances, I thought it best to abstain.

Proceeding from the consideration that, after we had, in the resolution adopted when we discussed the first item of the agenda, expressed our attitude of principle to the question of the Bund's place in the RSDLP, we might again, in view of this, emphasise our negative attitude generally towards all national and territorial organisations when we came to discuss the question of such organisations, and would doubtless do this, I regarded the question of the place of the Bund in the RSDLP as having been disposed of from the standpoint of principle. Therefore, the question of the position of the Bund in the RSDLP had ceased to be for me a question of principle and had become a question of practical politics in relation to an historically-evolved national organisation. Here I could not but take into account all the consequences that might follow from our vote, and would therefore have voted for Paragraph 2 in its entirety. But since my voting one way or the other would only have significance in principle and would not be of any practical importance, in view of the almost unanimous vote of all the other congress delegates, I preferred to abstain in order to bring out in principle the difference between my position on this question and the position of the Bund delegates, who voted in favour. Conversely, I would have voted in favour if the Bund delegates had abstained, as they had at first insisted.

*Chairman:* The representatives of the Bund told us more than once that they did not regard their conditions as constituting an ultimatum.

*Brouckère:* I abstained from voting on the rules put forward by the Bund, and I wish to explain why. I could not vote for the draft because I think it necessary in the interests of both the Jewish and the Russian proletariat that there should be one united Party organisation, in which none of the sections enjoys exclusive rights. But I could not vote against it because if the Bund entered the Party as a territorial organisation, in accordance with the rules the Party has just adopted, it would thereby deprive itself of the possibility of developing and continuing the useful activity it is now carrying on, since these rules make live work by local organisations impossible.

*The session was closed.*



## Twenty-eighth Session

*(Present: 38 delegates with 46 mandates and  
11 persons with consultative voice.)*

**Lenin:** The Bureau has discussed the statement by Comrades Martynov and Akimov which they submitted at the morning session. I shall not say anything about the reason they give, although it is wrong and extremely strange. Nobody anywhere has spoken of closing down the Union, and Comrades Martynov and Akimov have drawn an incorrect inference from the congress's decision regarding the League. But even the closing down of the Union could not deprive delegates of their right to take part in the work of the congress. And in just the same way, the congress cannot permit refusal to take part in voting. A member of the congress cannot merely endorse the minutes without participating in the other work of the congress. The Bureau is, for the time being, not going to present any resolution, and submits the question for discussion by the congress. The statement by Martynov and Akimov is abnormal in the highest degree and is incompatible with the status of members of the congress.

**Martynov:** Lenin says that our statement is abnormal in the highest degree, but it is not we who have created this abnormal situation. We are present here as delegates of an organisation, possessing the right to vote. The congress, by abolishing the organisation, has abolished our right to be its delegation. In the agenda the question of the abolition and endorsement of organisations was held over to the very end. If the congress did not manage to settle this question it was to have passed it for decision to the CC. As regards the Union, however, this question has already been settled, by an exceptional procedure, without the congress having given itself the trouble even to hear our report. I repeat, the situation has been created not by us but by the congress.

All that remains for us to do now is to listen to the minutes. If the minutes had already been confirmed, we should have left the congress at once.

*Pavlovich:* I do not understand Comrade Martynov at all. Adopting a certain principle does not mean immediately putting it into effect. We have adopted rules, but that does not mean that they come into force at once and that some organisation is thereby immediately abolished.

*Trotsky:* Martynov's statement is strange in the highest degree. Even if we abolished an organisation, that would not mean that we thereby deprived its delegates of the right to vote. If the congress decided, for instance, that it was in the interests of the Party to abolish the Baku Committee, for the organisation of transport work at least, the delegates of that Committee, participating in this decision, would still remain members of the congress. The same applies to the Union. Since, in the view of Akimov and Martynov, we have abolished their organisation, we have abolished it completely and not just partially. And it would be more consistent on their part to leave the congress altogether appearing only in order to confirm the minutes. It is illogical to engage in partial suicide. They say they do not want to take part in the work of the congress, that is, they want to remain merely objective spectators, but there is no such role to be played at a congress.

*Karsky* agreed with Trotsky. Martynov is creating an unnatural situation. At this congress *Iskra*, the League, the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group have all been suppressed as separate groups, yet none of the representatives of these organisations would think of walking out.

*Brouckère:* Lenin has interpreted wrongly the decision taken by the congress, which was aimed directly at the Union. My proposal for merging all the organisations abroad into one was rejected by all against two. I do not agree with Trotsky that it would be more logical for them to leave completely. They do not want to do that, because they do not want to invalidate the minutes.

*Martynov:* By stating in the general Party rules that the League is the sole Party organisation abroad the congress has stated clearly enough that the Union has ceased to exist. Mention has been made

here of *Iskra*, the League and the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group. But *Iskra*, as has been said more than once, is a Russian organisation, not an 'organisation abroad'. The League has been recognised by the congress. As for the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group, it had ceased to exist as an organisation before the congress met, and was invited to the congress by the OC for the sake of its historical services. I agree with Comrade Trotsky that there can be no partial suicide. Therefore we do not aspire to the exceptional right of being present at the congress while not taking part in its work. If the congress finds this unnatural, we will leave at once.

*Akimov*: There is little for me to add to what Martynov has said. After the suppression of the Union I do not consider it possible to take part in the work of the congress. We have the right, and the obligation, to hear and confirm the minutes and also the arrangements for their publication. If it suits the congress we will attend only for the reading of the minutes. Otherwise we shall not have fulfilled the obligations incumbent on us as delegates of an organisation.

*Martov*: Akimov understands the tasks of the Party in a way that is more than strange. If our congress had been a constituent congress, one at which agreements were to be made between different groups, then the minutes would have been binding only on those organisations whose delegates took part in confirming them. But our congress is an ordinary one, not a constituent one, and its minutes, when confirmed by the majority, are binding on all. Either you are delegates to the congress, in which case you must take part in all its proceedings, or you are not delegates, in which case you cannot remain at the session. The assertion that the rules adopted by the congress deprives some of the delegates of their right to vote is false. *Iskra*, too, has been abolished as a separate organisation, and yet I, as its delegate, remain at the congress. The procedure for putting into effect the decisions of the congress has not yet been laid down, and only at the end of this congress will the CC be authorised to take particular measures for this purpose. The statement of the Union delegates compels me to ask two questions: are they members of the Party, and are they delegates to the Congress?

*Akimov*: I must reply to Comrade Martov. We did not say that we were not members of the Party, though with the abolition of our organisation our position in the Party has become indefinite. We

have even been deprived of the possibility of working 'under the direction of one of the Party organisations', as is required by the rules. We do not think it possible to continue to take part in the proceedings of the congress. You can, of course, deprive us of the right to check our minutes.

*Trotsky (on a point of order):* The Bund walked out of the congress without the minutes having been read. If we give the minutes to the delegates of the Union we shall be creating a precedent which is undesirable for the Party.

*Martynov* said that all the explanations that had been given here had been given by particular comrades and not by the congress. We interpret differently the decision taken by the congress regarding Paragraph 13 of the rules.

*Chairman:* This dispute is based on a sheer misunderstanding. Between the adoption of a decision of principle and the implementation of this decision a certain period of time elapses. The decision will acquire legal force when the CC is authorised to wind up the affairs of the Union. Then, not only will the Union's report be read, but anything else the Union wants. This is how I interpret the decision taken, and I think the congress will agree with me. You, comrades, have no grounds for thinking that you have been deprived of your right to be present at the congress, and you have no grounds for quitting it. The awkwardness can be disposed of if the congress agrees with my interpretation.

*Akimov:* Part of our statement relates to the discontinuance of the Union. The Union has resolved to submit unconditionally to the decisions of the congress, and the fact that the Union has been closed down has no importance for us in itself. Our principal motivation is the exceptional character of the decision taken regarding the Union. Our organisation has been dissolved without being heard, and without waiting for the question to be reached on the agenda. That is why we cannot continue to remain at the congress. If you will allow us, we will attend for the reading of the minutes.

*Lenin:* What an absurd and abnormal situation has been created here! On the one hand we are told that they submit to the decisions of the congress, while on the other they are walking out because of the decision taken about the rules. By being present here as a delegate of

an organisation invited by the OC, every one of us has become a member of the congress. No dissolution of any organisation cancels that title. How are we, the Bureau, to proceed when a vote is to be taken? To ignore altogether those who have walked out is impossible, for the congress has already confirmed its composition. There is only one logical conclusion here, for them to leave the ranks of the Party completely. We can invite the comrades from the Union specially to come and take part in confirming the minutes, though the congress is entitled to confirm its minutes even without their being present.

*Plekhanov* asked *Akimov* and *Martynov* to withdraw the statement they had submitted.

*[Martynov and Akimov went out to confer.]*

*Brouckère*: Lenin interprets the congress decision wrongly. Comrade *Rusov's* resolution did away with all the other organisations abroad, leaving the league as the only one surviving.

*Lenin*: The Bureau has been handed a resolution from *Martov* which reads as follows: *[See note\*.]*

*Posadovsky* proposed that the word 'hopes' in this resolution be replaced by 'is convinced'.

*Yegorov*: The resolution speaks of the leaders of the Bund, but, after all, they were acting in accordance with a decision of the fifth congress of the Bund. Perhaps it is not the leaders who are to blame, but the Bund itself. It is not for us to go into that. We ourselves here are not leaders, but the whole Party.

*Muravyov*: Although the comrades from the Bund said that they had no imperative mandates, actually that was not the case. They were bound by the decision of their fifth congress, which they had not told us about.

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\* *Martov's* resolution (not voted on): 'Considering (1) that the delegates of the Bund definitely informed the congress that their organisational proposals did not constitute an ultimatum, and (2) that, after the proposal put to the congress by the comrades from the Bund had been rejected by the congress, the comrades from the Bund left the congress and said that their organisation was leaving the Party — the congress notes with deep regret that the leaders of the Bund have made a big political mistake in breaking the Party connection between a part of the Jewish proletariat and the rest of the organised proletariat of Russia. At the same time the congress is convinced that this mistake by the Bund will not seriously hinder the future progress of Russian Social-Democracy.'

*Koltsov* considered that the words 'leaders of the Bund' could remain in the resolution. They kept saying that their proposal was not an ultimatum, but it turned out to the contrary.

*Pavlovich* proposed that the word 'leaders' be replaced by 'delegates'. The behaviour of these delegates was juridically improper, and it might be that the organisation of the Bund would regard its representatives' behaviour as a wrong move.

*Yuzhin* proposed that the resolution on the Bund be held over until the reasoned statement about their departure from the Party had been received from the Bund delegates.

*Popov*: The comrades who have spoken about Martov's resolution have dealt exclusively, except for Yegorov, with the ultimate question: they have talked about whether a mistake was made by the Bund or by its delegates. In my view, a resolution about the departure of the Bund should not concentrate on that trifling matter. The departure of the Bund is an important historic moment in the life of the Party. The action taken by the Bund will have extremely important consequences. That is why the Congress should concentrate on this event, and it seems to me that in our resolution we should express regret at the Bund's leaving the Party, and confidence that the Bund will not long remain outside of the Party, and that the Jewish workers' movement will soon merge once more with the general movement of the proletariat in a single Party. That is what we should do — not argue about what sort of a blunder was made by the Bund delegation.

*Trotsky*: I agree with Comrade Popov. What faces us is not a juridical error but a definite historical fact. Consequently, the reasoned statement by the Bund cannot alter in any way our appreciation of this fact. Our duty to the Jewish proletariat is to express our regret regarding the breaking of the organisational tie between the Jewish and the Russian proletariat. Therefore, we ought to pass the resolution without waiting for the Bund's statement.

*By 30 votes to seven the congress adopted Yuzhin's proposal.*

*Akimov*: If the congress understands paragraph 13 in a sense different from ours, it should change the way its decision is formulated, and then we shall not interpret it as being directed particularly against the Union.

*Martynov*: I want to elucidate certain things that Comrade Akimov

said. The explanation given us has not made it clear whether the decision was one of principle or an exceptional measure directed against the Union. If it was the latter then we consider that the Union has been insulted. Comrade Yegorov got the same impression as we did, namely, that it was an exceptional law against the Union, and so even he left the meeting.

*Plekhanov*: I do not understand this way of looking at the matter. The resolution says that the League will henceforth be the sole organisation of the Party abroad. What insult to the Union can there be in this? The comrades can consider themselves satisfied with the explanations given, and withdraw their statement.

*Brouckère*: The Union was insulted. The congress took a decision that all the organisations abroad, except the League, were worthless.

*Plekhanov*: I admit that the decision could be disagreeable to the representatives of the Union, but no insult is involved here.

*Martynov*: When paragraph 13 was being discussed we spoke against it, but we saw no insult in it. Later, however, a *special* amendment was introduced, which was aimed at the Union. That was a special insult to us.

*Martov*: The Bureau has explained that there was no insult involved here, and the delegates of the Union would behave more logically and more wisely if they were to withdraw their resolution and thereby allow the congress to proceed to next business.

*Lyadov*: There is nothing here to discuss. I propose that we go straight on to next business.

*Trotsky* moved the following resolution: 'The congress, finding that Comrades Martynov and Akimov can consider themselves fully satisfied with the explanations given them by the Presidium, proposes that they withdraw their statement, which will enable the congress to proceed to next business.'

*Trotsky's resolution was passed, with 32 votes.*

*Brouckère* proposed, in order to clear up the incident with the Union, that a resolution be passed explaining the paragraph of the rules and saying that all organisations abroad were to be merged into one and to take the title of the League.

*Martov* denied the Bureau's right to accept a resolution.

*Lenin:* We cannot touch on the rules, but we do not consider that the Bureau has the right to reject a resolution without discussion. In any case, that right belonged to the congress.

*Karsky:* Adoption of the new resolution would cancel the previous one, that is why we cannot allow it to be put.

*Martov:* If my definition was wrong, that given by the Bureau was also wrong. We have passed a resolution about the incident, with 32 votes in its favour, and there is no need for another one.

*It was decided by 26 to seven not to discuss Comrade Brouckère's resolution.*

*Plekhanov* moved a new resolution about the incident, saying: 'The congress, declaring that when it adopted paragraph 13 of the rules it was not guided by any intention of insulting the "Union of Russian Social-Democrats", invites the representatives of that organisation to withdraw their proposal and proceed to next business.'

*Trotsky:* Our resolution is one of principle, and not a philistine one, and it is no concern of ours if somebody takes offence at it.

*Plekhanov:* If the comrades saw an insult here, why should the congress not dispel this misunderstanding?

*Akimov:* An insult is being talked about here merely because my comrade happened to let fall that word . . .

*Plekhanov:* In that case I withdraw my resolution.

*Akimov (continuing):* The point here is not at all the offensive attitude that was shown. I, for example, have been called an opportunist here. I personally consider this an abusive and offensive term, and I believe that I have done nothing to deserve it. However, I am not protesting. [*Laughter.*]

*Plekhanov:* I withdraw my resolution and apologise for having moved it.

*Martynov:* The word 'insult' was not uttered lightly by me, and I stand by it. The exceptional measure taken in relation to the Union is unquestionably an insult.

*Akimov and Martynov rejected the Bureau's proposal that they withdraw their statement.*



*Trotsky:* I think the delegates of the Union ought either to withdraw their statement or else in some other way enable the congress to get on with its business.

*Lenin:* We have been put in an abnormal and hopeless situation. We cannot continue any longer to discuss this matter.

*Akimov:* We are leaving the congress. [*Voices:* 'Absolutely unwarranted!']

*Comrades Akimov and Martynov left.*

*Lenin:* We now come to the sixth item on the agenda. Who wishes to speak?

*Rusov:* We have to settle the question of territorial and national organisations. The Bund having left, there are none of the latter type in the Party. The question of the former type of organisation remains. According to the formulation of the relevant paragraph in the Party rules, the typical form of these organisations is to be an association of committees. Among the areas in which the Russian Party works, Caucasia presents such exceptional conditions that it is necessary to establish a territorial organisation there. We already have the rudiments of such an organisation, and its further development will depend on the congress. I propose, therefore, that when the comrades discuss the question of territorial organisations they also keep Caucasia in mind. The typical form of this organisation can be an association of already existing committees.

*Posadovsky:* For me the major problem is whether we need to form associations of committees or separate committees for each particular region, such as, for example, the existing Siberian Association. The congress must say which type of organisation it prefers.

*Karsky:* Comrade Posadovsky did not answer the question but merely posed it. It is a complex question and the way it is to be answered depends on local circumstances. Where no committees exist as yet, I would propose that, first of all, associations of committees should be established, and then, as necessary, local committees should be formed. But this cannot be done where a movement already exists. We must start from what is. In Caucasia an attempt was made to unite the local committees, and this was partially successful. An association was established and this began to work. But since it was not completely organised it did not succeed in becoming the represen-

tative of the entire local movement at the congress. Caucasia is cut off from all the rest of Russia, and this isolation has not been reduced by the appearance of the OC, which has not supplied Caucasia with literature. Owing to the need for agitation to be carried on in the local languages it is necessary to set up a centre in Caucasia which will direct the entire movement there. The CC can have its representative there. The association needs to be given wide authority, as it is not always possible to arrive in time from places far to the north. I present draft rules for the association.

*Panin:* The problem before us is not the setting up of special organisations but clarification as to whether territorial organisations are needed.

*Lange:* From the example of our North we can see that in some cases territorial organisations are needed. If we consider the concentration of all the principal factory centres within a short distance of each other, and if we have in mind the identical nature of industrial conditions and the type of industry in the area of the Northern Workers' Association, and the lack of local revolutionary forces and similar difficulties which make it almost impossible for revolutionaries to settle in many factory towns and localities in the North, it will become clear why local work cannot proceed without the presence of a local revolutionary centre. Only such a centre, being a concentration of the best forces in the area, forces which are distributed far from evenly in the North, but only in one or two places in the area which are most convenient for them — only such a centre would be capable of organising planned work in the North, supplying the various Social-Democratic and workers' organisations with personnel, resources, technical devices, publications, and so on. This sort of centralisation of work in the North was brought about not artificially but in response to the demands of life itself. The original initiators of it were the local revolutionaries, who were well acquainted with the conditions of local work: they gave fixed form only to what had come into being already, though only in a chaotic, amorphous state. By means of this centralisation it at once became possible to get work going in localities where it had previously been impossible to organise. However, the type of organisation of committees in associations, which was applied at the beginning of the existence of the Northern Workers' Association, subsequently proved insufficiently expedient and practical. Subsequent developments, especially after the large-

scale arrests of 1902 throughout the area, which were preceded by a period in which the work flourished in the North, showed that despite the existence of the organised forces which were at the disposal of the North, in many very important centres (such as Ivanovo, Shuya, Orekhovo, and to some extent even in Kostroma, at certain times), effective committees could not function. This circumstance again evoked the idea of giving fixed form to what we had created in the last year of work, that is, properly organising a single centre (the Northern Committee), with all the other organisations reduced to the role of territorial organisations, deprived of the status of committees. Therefore I want to say first, that in certain circumstances, the existence of territorial organisations is desirable, and, secondly, that it would not be desirable for all territorial organisations to be of one and the same type.

*Rusov (on a point of order):* What we have to discuss is the question of principle, whether it is permissible in general for the Party to have territorial organisations, and I propose that the Bureau ask speakers not to talk about particular organisations.

*Chairman:* The item before us is territorial organisations.

*Trotsky (on a point of order):* We have an item on the agenda about the endorsement of organisations, including territorial ones. What we need to discuss now is the question of principle.

*Chairman:* We are discussing the sixth item of the agenda, and I do not understand why there should be points of order. It seems to me that everyone who has spoken has spoken to the point.

*Zasulich:* We cannot discuss this question in abstract terms, it can be settled only concretely, in application to each given locality.

*Kostrov:* On the question of territorial and national organisations I must say this: the existence of such organisations is necessary for the development of our Party. Russia, after all, is a big country, and it includes extensive borderlands, which in their population and cultural features are markedly different from the centre of Russia. It will be physically impossible for our Central Committee to be all over the place, looking into all local affairs, giving guidance in every locality. It would be easier for the CC to deal with associations of committees than with a multitude of separate committees working in different languages. The establishment of such associations has already been

evoked by the demands of life, as can be seen from the fact that they have arisen in various parts of the empire. I am not in favour of associations being formed as a matter of course, here, there and everywhere. No, I am in favour only of the existence of associations in those places which by the make-up of the population and national peculiarities are distinct from the strictly Russian areas. The borderlands belong to this category. In Caucasia we have an association of local committees known as the 'Caucasian Association'. Within its field of responsibility are not only the general direction of the local labour movement but also the production of literature in Georgian and Armenian, and perhaps soon also in the Tatar language. Who will do that for us, if the Association is abolished? The Central Committee? But it won't be able to perform this task, its members won't know our languages, our literature and our local needs. Nor can this be done by our local committees, acting separately: in the first place this would be a waste of both material and literary forces, and, secondly, one of them won't know what the others are doing, and chaos in the field of publication will result. We don't want that. Just as Russian Social-Democrats now have their central organ, so we too want Georgian and Armenian Social-Democrats to have theirs. Such organs exist already and are the business of the 'Association'. Failure to recognise this association will inevitably lead to the weakening of our forces and the disorganising of our movement.

*Posadovsky:* Comrade Karsky is right. I merely posed the question. Now I will answer it. Rusov's proposal regarding associations of committees is unacceptable. A gathering of delegates from different committees gives less of a guarantee that the association will not become absorbed in local interests and forget the wider tasks of the Party. Each delegate will only seek to promote the cause of his own corner. Where the CC can fulfil all functions, territorial organisations are not required. In remote places or places distinguished by specific conditions, special committees must be appointed, with the task of bringing the given area into line with the all-Russia movement.

*Rusov:* I cannot entirely agree with Comrade Posadovsky's arguments and conclusions even though I proceed from the same basic considerations as he does. The purpose of forming territorial organisations must be to organise on a broad scale the work of agitation and propaganda in localities where an exceptional situation exists, but at the same time we must endeavour to form a type of organisation that

cannot degenerate into a separatist or an old-type amateur local organisation. What Posadovsky proposes is dangerous because strict centralisation in a certain area creates a strong force in the shape of the territorial committee, a compact force in which separatist tendencies will be much stronger than in an association of committees, which in extreme cases it would not be hard for the CC to disband. Moreover, I should be in favour of representatives of the separate committees of the territorial organisations being present at every Party congress, so that we may become acquainted with all the trends within the organisation. If this had been done in the case of the Bund we should now be aware of the balance of different trends in the Bund and would not have had to deal at the congress with a single organised force. This is why, proceeding from the same considerations as Comrade Posadovsky, I arrive at the completely opposite conclusion. As for those areas where for technical reasons it is not possible to form associations of committees, such as the area of the Northern Association, the Urals, or the Mining and Metallurgical area, what we have there are, in essence, not territorial organisations but simply Party committees working in a number of factory centres adjacent to each other.

*Kostich:* As has been made clear here, there are two types of association. One type, such as the Northern Association, the Association of Mining and Metallurgical workers, and to some extent the Crimean Association, consists really of a single committee, a single centre, which directs the movement in a wide area made up of a number of insignificant towns and townlets which are inhabited by a significant population of workers, these towns and settlements not having been able to establish their own independent centres. This variety of territorial organisation is very similar in type to the local committee, and there is no need to say any more about it here.

The other type, such as the Caucasian Association, is an association of a number of local committees, each of which directs the local movement in complete independence of the others, and here the creation of a special directing centre other than the CC is quite superfluous. In so far as these committees have common technical and agitational tasks, that is, special conditions of language and way of life which are common to them all, what they are to do must be determined by an agency of the CC, and in order to carry out their tasks these committees can set up a special group without leadership functions. Thus, Posadovsky's proposal is acceptable for territorial

organisations of the first kind, and Comrade Gorin's for associations of committees.

*Gorin:* This question must be considered first from the standpoint of principle — do we need regional organisations? — and not approached from the existing organisations, as Comrade Zasulich proposes. The existing organisations have arisen as surrogates for the Central Committee, during the time of disorder in the Party. Generally speaking, regional organisations are an evil which can be tolerated so long as it is impossible immediately to make a radical break. Regional organisations must be merely agencies of the CC and not delegations of local committees. A certain degree of autonomy can for the time being be allowed to these agencies. Speakers have referred here to the fear of destroying organisations. The Caucasian Association exists not as an embryo but as a real fact. It has merely not yet assumed finished form.

*Lyadov:* With the departure of the Bund this question has, alas, lost its acuteness. We cannot reduce all territorial organisations to a single uniform pattern. There are big differences between the towns of Caucasia, the Donets Basin and the Urals. In Siberia and in Caucasia it may be possible for associations to exist on an elected basis. There they have big towns, with an intelligentsia and a mass of workers. In such God-forsaken spots as our Donets Basin everything has to be built from above, and concentrated in a single nucleus. That is how our organisation has arisen: the centre first, then the periphery. Comrade Posadovsky's resolution is not applicable to every area, but only to such areas as the Urals, the Vladimir textile area, and the Donets Basin.

*Karsky:* Comrade Gorin, as a man with a radical cast of mind, always talks in a bold, sweeping way. He says that territorial organisations are an evil but if there is evil here, we do not lag behind Comrade Gorin in combating it. However, this is not a case of evil but of the logical development of our movement . . .

*Gorin (interrupting):* Under abnormal conditions.

*Karsky (continuing):* . . . with an abnormal logic. We have a number of conditions which prevent the CC from carrying on fruitful work: (1) language (2) distance (3) distinct way of life. How can the CC organise agitation in the Georgian language? To do that you need to

know the language, the whole literature, to understand the people's psychology. To abolish the Association of Caucasian Committees by one stroke of the pen would be, not to put too fine a point on it, a misunderstanding of the situation. As for the technical aspect, that is true only in part. To have a central technical apparatus is useful and advantageous, but that is not where the tasks of the Association lie. It has to direct the movement of a whole region. It must have its own centre on the spot, even though this be subordinate to the CC. The expression 'agency' is not a happy one, but I have nothing against it. [*Reads his resolution, which is then handed to the Bureau.*]

*The list of speakers was closed.*

*Lange:* It is self-evident that, in principle, it is absolutely undesirable for there to be any intermediate links between the individual committees and the Central Committee. Such a barrier may fix and maintain in a particular association nationalist differences and programmatic heresies in general. But so long as we do not possess a strong Central Committee that can itself organise the work in every more or less important centre, communicate properly with it, and meet all its needs, so long will it be impossible and undesirable to suppress associations by decree. As to the negative aspects of associations, these can to a certain degree be weakened by that passage in the rules under which every organisation has the right to communicate directly with the CC and the Central Organ, and the right of the CC in certain cases to disband organisations — which means associations as well. I am handing to the Bureau a resolution which formulates my ideas on this matter.

*Yegorov:* After the Bund had left, one of our esteemed comrades said something to the effect that we had performed a very serious operation, we had cut out a cancer, but then he suddenly remembered something, and added that with cancer there can be a relapse. Yes, there can be relapses of cancer. But I did not expect that we should have to deal so soon with a relapse, and not even just with a relapse but with a real embryo cancer. If you listen carefully to the arguments of the Caucasian comrades you will hear just the same melodies that the comrades from the Bund sang to us: peculiarity of social structure, locality, nationality, and language, and need to combat nationalist trends. *Caveant consules!* If the Caucasian comrades are now speaking so modestly and quietly, this is because, in respect of their forces and

degree of organisation, they are as yet only infants in comparison with the Bund. Let them grow, and you will see arise before you, if not a real Bund then at least a 'mini-Bund'. I say again, take care, comrades. I want to add a factual correction. It was said here that the Caucasian Association is an established fact. As a member of the former OC I declare that the Caucasian comrades officially informed the OC that the Association does not exist. If it had, Caucasia would have been given two votes, not six.

*Rusov:* I must first apologise to the meeting for having once again to speak about the movement in Caucasia, although enough has been said about it here. Comrade Yegorov's speech has impelled me to speak. He has alerted us all to manifest symptoms of nascent neo-Bundism. Let us analyse this. First of all, Comrade Yegorov, the Bund is a national organisation, whereas the Caucasian Association is a territorial one, an association of committees. These are two quite different things. Moreover, the need for the existence of this organisation, as has been shown several times throughout the proceedings of the congress, especially during the polemic with the Bund, is justified not by a desire for special representation of the proletariat of the borderlands in relation to the Party, but exclusively by the agitational and organisational peculiarities of the local movement. That can be confused with Bundism only by persons for whom it is not at all clear what the problem was that the Bund presented.

I will explain again why it is that we need a territorial organisation. What do you think, Comrade Yegorov, do we not need to give the Georgian, Armenian and Tatar workers literature in languages they understand, so that they may read and master the principles of our Party? Don't we need to produce for them periodical publications which will introduce them to the all-Russia field of proletarian struggle and acquaint them with our movement as a whole? Of course we need these things. But will the editorial board of our Central Organ, or the Central Committee, take on this work? If so, then, of course, no special organisation for doing it will be needed. But I think that, at present, our central bodies cannot take on this work. Can they assume the task of undertaking extensive treatment of local affairs or, what is even more important, waging a broad struggle against various local nationalist trends? Again, I say they cannot do this; and in order that it may be done I propose that an association of those committees directly concerned in this work be set up. Perhaps Comrade Yegorov wants



each separate committee to provide what is necessary for its own agitation? In that event, comrades, instead of going forward, we shall be dragged back. We shall return to that amateurism we had grown out of, that expending of forces on the local production of what more productively can be done by a large body. These are our arguments, Comrade Yegorov. If, after this, you still perceive Bundism, you are simply suffering from persecution mania. As for Comrade Gorin's proposals about 'agencies', I think that inasmuch as every local committee is an agency of the CC, so also is an Association of Committees such an agency.

*Kostrov:* Comrade Yegorov sees in the defence of the Caucasian Association a new form of Bundism. Clearly, he is not familiar either with our part of the country or with our committees. In the first place, we have no national organisations but are an all-Caucasia body, including Georgians, Armenians and other nations of the Caucasus. In this respect we are radically different from the Bund, which concerns itself only with the Jewish proletariat and doesn't want to know the others. Secondly, we occupy a clearly defined territory, which is markedly different from Russia in its peculiarities of everyday life and requires special forms of activity. If Yegorov and other Russian comrades think they can do better in our part of the country than we and our Caucasian comrades are doing — please be so kind as to come along, the door is open, we will offer a field of activity. But I already see astonishment written on Comrade Yegorov's face, from which I conclude that he would not think of doing that, and would not be able to. Comrade Posadovsky said that the organisation of territorial associations must be taken out of the sphere of local interests and brought into the general Party sphere. This is, in my view, unthinkable and undesirable. It is unthinkable because it is local questions that necessarily give rise to a movement and thereby merge it with the general Party movement: a local strike impels the workers along the path of general political struggle. It is undesirable because such organisations will be unsound, they will be built on sand, and consequently will lead to the weakening of the Party as a whole. It is the streams constituted by all the various local movements that will merge and form that mighty Party which will lead us to victory.

*The session was closed.*

## Twenty-ninth Session

*(Present: 36 delegates with 44 mandates and  
11 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The minutes of the 17th session were read.*

*Plekhanov (commenting on the minutes)* said that his proposal to accept the original version of point 6 of the general-political demands of the programme, and hold over the remainder, concerning equality of languages, to the next congress, as this question was evidently not clear to most of the delegates, had been interpreted wrongly. He had not at all wished to suggest that the whole of this question was unclear to the Party generally, and he could not have suggested this if only because, having himself taken part in working out the draft programme, he considered that it was quite clear to him and to those who had been involved in the whole draft. He had merely supposed, in view of the difficulties the congress had experienced in voting on this point as a whole, that the question was insufficiently clear to the majority of delegates, and that therefore it needed to be clarified first, in the press.

*Yegorov* remarked that he personally had nothing against the explanation which Comrade Plekhanov had now given, but he was obliged to observe that at the session at which Comrade Plekhanov made his proposal, nobody had understood it in that sense, and even Plekhanov himself had not at the time given it that meaning.

*Plekhanov* said that he himself, of course, best knew what he had in mind when arguing in favour of his resolution, and that he was now merely using his right to give an explanation.

*Yegorov* said that, in the absence of a stenographic record of the proceedings it was not possible to re-establish the actual meaning of

what speakers had said. By his remarks he merely wished to emphasise that, at the actual session at which Plekhanov made this proposal, it had possessed a quite different shade of meaning, one of irony. [*Plekhanov*: 'Quite true!'] and this had given a certain tone to the entire session.

*The minutes of the 20th session were read and, after a few amendments had been made, were confirmed.*

*The congress proceeded to vote on the resolution concerning territorial organisations.*

*The resolutions moved by Lange, Posadovsky, Koltsov and Gorin were rejected.\**

*Karsky's resolution† was adopted by 28 votes to two, with seven abstentions.*

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\* *Lange's resolution*: 'The congress, while declaring in principle against the uniting of committees into associations, permits this to be done in certain cases. These cases are conditioned, on the one hand, by the weak functioning of the Central Committee in certain areas (borderlands, factory localities without important urban centres, and so on), and, on the other, by the impossibility, in the absence of such associations, of properly organising the work to be done. The drawing up of rules for territorial organisations is left for them to carry out jointly with the CC.'

*Posadovsky's resolution*: 'Of the two existing types of united organisations: (1) the association of committees at the centre of which is an organisation elected by these committees, and (2) the united organisation which is independent of local organisations but, on the contrary, directs and regulates their work, the congress pronounces in favour of the second, since this type of organisation is derived directly from the function which this united organisation has to perform, that is, to link local work with work which is common to all Russia, not allowing it to become confined to local tasks. For this reason a united organisation should not grow out of local organisations.'

*Koltsov's resolution*: 'The congress recognises as permissible the formation of territorial organisations. The pattern of these organisations is to be established by local organisations in agreement with the Central Committee.'

*Gorin's resolution*: 'Where necessary, the Central Committee establishes regional agencies. Where possible these are to be composed by the Central Committee from local forces which enjoy the confidence of the committees. Part of this work of establishing regional committees can be entrusted by the Central Committee to the local committees.'

† *Resolution moved by Karsky and Kostrov*: 'The congress recognises as permissible the establishment of territorial organisations, in the form of associations of committees, in those regions of Russia which are distinguished by important special features in respect of language, make-up of the population, and so on. Responsibility for approving the rules governing such organisations is assigned to the Party's Central Committee.'

*Amendments to this resolution moved by Muravyov,\* Pavlovich (to insert the words: 'and in the form of united territorial organisations') and Kostrov (to replace 'admissible' by 'desirable' were all rejected.*

*The congress then turned to the last item of the agenda, namely, the questions of particular organisations of the Party.*

*The deputy chairman, Lenin, explained that the purpose of this item was to discuss both the general question of all those organisations which might lie outside the rules of Party organisation and, in particular, each of the organisations which existed at present.*

*After this the Bureau asked if anyone wished to speak on this subject. Nobody wished to speak.*

*Kostich (on a point of order):* I propose that we discuss the question of a popular organ.

*Rusov:* The question of a popular organ has nothing to do with the question on the agenda. I propose that we discuss the fate of those groups which stand outside the Party, and disband them.

*Martov:* In the name of the *Iskra* organisation I announce that I can save you the trouble of disbanding it. After the confirmation of the Party rules and the recognition of *Iskra* as the Party organ, the *Iskra* organisation ceased to exist as such.

*Trotsky* proposed discussing the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy*.

*Byelov* proposed that each organisation be considered separately.

*The chairman* said that the proposals by Trotsky and Byelov coincided, since they both amounted to giving each organisation separate consideration.

*Byelov* proposed that a special resolution be passed in relation to each organisation, such as the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group, the Union, and so on.

*Deutsch* said that the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group had taken part in the congress, but it had been given two votes only on account of its historical services to the Party. The Group as such had merged with the League and had ceased to exist as a separate organisation.

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\* Muravyov's resolution: 'Declaring in principle against associations of committees, the congress nevertheless allows the formation of territorial organisation', and so on (see *Karsky's resolution*).

*Deutsch* submitted a written statement on this matter, saying: 'The "Emancipation of Labour" Group, as such, is dissolved in the Party organisation.'

*Posadovsky*: Since the Siberian Association represents the type of association envisaged by Pavlovich's amendment, which was rejected when we voted, we need to make a specific declaration regarding the Siberian Association.

*Lange*: According to the sense of the resolution adopted by the congress it is not at all obvious that committees whose activity extends over more than one province have no right to exist. The area of activity of a committee is not defined in the rules, and so the Siberian Association has not been suppressed, but has been brought under the classification of an ordinary committee.

*Lenin*: This is not relevant.

*Lange*: I was answering Posadovsky.

*Brouckère*: I think we should make our resolution a general one, not particularising about this or that organisation. I have heard of many organisations which do not belong to the committee type, but I have no detailed information about them. I believe there are many organisations which nobody here knows about, and we ought to express only the general view of the congress regarding organisations which do not belong to the Party organisation.

*Chairman*: The one does not rule out the other. About some organisations we can express our view in principle, while about others, known to those present at the congress, we can speak particularly.

*Karsky*: We need to draw up a list of all organisations requiring to be either endorsed or disbanded. In Caucasia there is an association of committees which publishes an organ and so on. This needs to be sanctioned.

*Gorin*: I do not understand how we can take up an attitude to a particular organisation when we do not yet know the general principle which should guide us.

*Chairman*: Since we have adopted general rules for the Party we have thereby adopted a general principle. All the organisations of which we wish to speak have come into being precisely because of the

absence of Party organisation. We have now adopted a certain form of organisation, and by doing this we have given our general decision.

*Karsky*: The organisations of which I speak serve local needs. If Gorin does not want to sanction them individually, then he thereby says that these organisations ought not to exist within the Party.

*Rusov*: It is clear that what we are concerned with here is organisations which do not enter into the Party's hierarchy. We cannot deal with each organisation separately.

*Lyadov* moved his resolution.

*Gusev*: *Lyadov's* resolution related to organisations which exist in Russia, whereas we are concerned with organisations abroad. I think there are a sufficient number of groups (*Borba*, *Volya*, *Zhizn*, etc.) about which the congress ought to record its view.

*Lenin (Deputy Chairman)*: The Bureau has been handed a list of organisations compiled by Comrade Fomin. [*Reads out the list.*]

*Muravyov*: What is this *Volya* mentioned in the list? Its exact name should be given.

*Makhov* pointed out that *Svoboda* had been omitted from the list.

*Lvov* supported *Makhov*, since *Volya*, etc., had been included.

*Orlov*: There is no point in moving a resolution about *Volya* and so forth. After all, they don't put 'RSDLP' at the top of the page.

*Lenin (Chairman)*: Some of them do.

*Martov*: Whether they do or they don't is not important. We need to compose a resolution about all the organisations to which this is relevant.

*Kostrov* proposed that the list include a paper published in the Armenian and Georgian languages, *Borba Proletariata*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

*Lyadov* proposed that the list include the PPS, the Bund and the Union of Lettish Social-Democrats.

*Karsky*: We are concerned with organisations belonging to the Party. Those mentioned by *Lyadov* don't belong.

*Lyadov*: In any case I insist on the Bund being included.

*Gorin:* I propose that we do not include the editorial board of *Borba Proletariata*, since there is no such organisation. This paper is published by the Caucasian Association and its publishers do not constitute a separate organisation.

*Karsky:* Comrade Gorin has spent only a few days in Caucasia, and regularly, whenever he tries to speak as an expert on the subject, he says something that does not square with the facts. I insist on the need to include the editorial board of *Borba Proletariata*.

*Koltsov:* It won't do to argue in that spirit about all the organisations, one after the other. We shall get drawn into matters of detail, and never finish.

*Gorin:* I did not deny the existence of the publication of which Kostrov and Karsky spoke. I merely said that it was published in the name of the Association.

*Martov:* We should authorise the CC to go into the Caucasian situation. Either there are three organisations there or there is none. We cannot make any sense of it here from what the Caucasian delegates have said. I now propose a resolution about the *Borba* group. [*Reads it.*] I do not agree that there should be a general resolution dealing with the *Borba* group and also with the Kuklin and *Volya* groups. One of these groups has principles, even if these are not sufficiently mature, whereas others have absolutely none, and with some we have differences of principle.

*Plekhanov:* Lack of principles also means a difference of principle with us.

*Martov:* Absence of principles, immaturity and difference of principles are all quite different things.

*Karsky:* There are not three organisations in Caucasia. There is only one organisation, which has to publish its material in three languages.

*Rusov:* The question of Armenian, Georgian and other publications is closely connected with the question of territorial organisations. These organisations, too, will publish everything that may be required.

*Martov* proposed a special resolution on Caucasia.

*Rusov:* It is quite unnecessary to have a resolution on each particular case, since we have a general resolution.

*Gorin*: I propose that the Caucasian organisation be deleted altogether from the list.

*Karsky*: We can't delete what isn't there.

*Kostrov*: We are not talking about the Caucasian committees but about the editorial board of *Borba Proletariata*, and that needs to be included in the list.

*Lensky* moved that discussion on the Caucasian Association and the editorial board be terminated.

*Lenin* proposed an adjournment so that a resolution could be composed.

*Martov* insisted on a vote being taken on his resolution about the *Borba* group.

*Pavlovich* proposed that the task of disbanding all organisations that needed to be disbanded be left to the CC.

*Muravyov* proposed that the whole question be handed over to a commission, and insisted that his resolution be voted on at once.

(*A vote was taken on Muravyov's resolution and it was rejected by a big majority.*)

*Byelov* demanded that the general resolution should not include *Yuzhny Rabochy*, since one could not compare committees and such-like organisations with this group.

*Lenin (Deputy Chairman)* read Koltsov's resolution.

*Lyadov* then withdrew his resolution.

*Kostrov*: Koltsov's resolution contradicts the resolution which we have already adopted on territorial organisations.

*Byelov*: Some call for a general resolution dealing with all organisations, others for each one to be dealt with separately. We need first of all to settle that question.

*Plekhanov (Chairman)*: The Bureau takes note of your observation, and appeals to the congress to settle the question.

*Byelov* proposed that a separate resolution be composed for each organisation.

*Plekhanov (Chairman)*: I put Comrade Byelov's proposal to the vote.



*The majority expressed themselves in favour, though the votes were not counted.*

*Lenin (Deputy Chairman):* Comrade Byelov proposes that Koltsov's resolution be rejected.

*Byelov* protested.

*Lenin:* So, then, we will put Byelov's proposal to the vote.

*Byelov:* It has already been passed.

*Lenin:* The votes were not counted. You have not submitted your resolution in writing. Please do that.

*Byelov* handed up a written resolution.

*Lenin* read the resolution and said that it was quite vague, and that with such a wording the supporters of Koltsov's resolution could vote for it, too. He therefore asked Byelov to make his resolution more precise.

*Fomin:* The congress can express itself in favour of adopting a general resolution and then proceed to examine particular cases.

*Yegorov* said that nothing was said in the agenda about the congress giving instructions about how the CC was to act: that the agenda had in view not working out instructions for the CC, but defining its attitude to particular organisations. Yet the resolution which had been moved was more like an instruction to the CC.

*Koltsov:* Every question calls for a general resolution first: particular decisions can be taken subsequently.

*Lange:* Koltsov's resolution does not embrace such organisations as those in Riga and elsewhere which do not want to join the local committees. We need to adopt some sort of general resolution, but after that we must look at the question in detail.

*Yegorov:* Since the agenda includes the question of endorsing existing organisations there is no point in deferring the endorsement of these organisations and charging the CC with this responsibility.

*Martov:* The discussion has become absolutely chaotic. We have been talking for two hours, first of all arguing about whether an organisation exists in Caucasia, then about my resolutions, and now again everybody is talking about whatever occurs to him. It is impossible to conduct a discussion like this.

*The secretaries* said that owing to the many brief remarks made and the chaotic character of the discussion it was almost impossible to take minutes.

*Fomin:* The trouble is that there has been a misunderstanding. A general resolution does not rule out a considerate attitude by the congress towards those organisations which are regarded as existing at present. It has been proposed that a vote be taken on a resolution of principle regarding item 8 of the agenda, and that we then proceed to discuss the question of the separate organisations.

*Ivanov:* How are we to understand item 8?

*Lenin* explained that the agenda provided for both general resolutions and for resolutions on the particular organisations which were outside the Party organisation. Whether the congress adopted or rejected Koltsov's resolution, it could then proceed to examine the particular organisations according to the list which the Bureau possessed. Comrade Yegorov's objection was unfounded.

*Yegorov:* If Comrade Koltsov agrees with Comrade Lenin's explanation, I regard that as the end of the matter.

*Koltsov's resolution\* was voted on and passed, all voting in favour except for two abstentions.*

*Lange's resolution† was rejected. The congress then proceeded to discuss resolutions on the attitude towards particular organisations.*

*Martov's resolution on the Borba group§ was passed, all voting in favour except for one against and one abstention.*

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\* Koltsov's resolution: 'As regards local organisations, the congress recognises it as necessary that only one leading organisation should exist in the centres of Party activity, and authorises the Central Committee to take measures to establish this unity. Where non-local organisations are concerned — military organisations, publishing organisations, etc. — the congress regards the existence of such organisations as possible provided they are endorsed by the Party's CC.'

† Lange's resolution: 'Regarding the so-called Social-Democratic groups (unformed committees) which exist in certain towns, where there are no Party committees, the congress proposes to the CC that it take measures to ensure that all these organisations either formalise their existence by declaring themselves Party committees, or else, should this form some reason be impossible, that they all enter the Party on conditions defined by agreement with the CC.'

§ Martov's resolution: 'Considering that the literary group called *Borba* regards itself as belonging to the RSDLP and has expressed its intention of submitting to the decisions

*Next came a resolution on the 'Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad'.*

*Rusov:* I suggest we pass Martov's resolution again, merely substituting 'the Union' for *Borba*.

*Martov:* I don't agree. It is impossible to put *Borba* and the Union on a par. The Union is an organisation which was endorsed by the First Congress. Besides, the Union is not a literary group, of the *Borba* type.

*Plekhanov* moved a resolution about the Union\* which was passed (*all voting in favour, except for two abstentions*) after the words 'has ceased to exist' had been replaced by 'is considered to be disbanded'.

*The session was closed.*

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of the Party congress, the congress authorises the CC to approach the *Borba* group with the proposal that it disband its organisation as such, for the separate existence of which there is no need, and that its members join a Party organisation.'

\* Plekhanov's resolution: 'The Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad is considered to be disbanded. Its members are invited to join one of the organisations which have been endorsed by the Party.'

## Thirtieth Session

*(Present: 36 delegates with 44 mandates and  
11 persons with consultative voice.)*

*Martov's resolution on the Kuklin Press group (formerly Zhizn) and the Borba group was voted on.\* The resolution was passed, all voting in favour, except for two abstentions.*

*Chairman:* We have before us the question of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group.

*Gusev* proposed that the comrade from *Yuzhny Rabochy* should speak.

*Popov:* When other organisations were being dealt with nobody obliged them to speak. The congress has, without that, enough material to judge whether or not we should be disbanded. The congress has also been adequately informed about the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group. We gave a report at the right time. Everything now depends on the congress alone, and I don't understand what it is that is wanted from us.

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\* Martov's resolution: 'Considering (a) that the Kuklin Press group (formerly *Zhizn*) does not regard itself as being part of the RSDLP and has no organisational relations with the Party organisation, and that the draft of a Social-Democratic programme which it presented was offered by it for some unknown congress of 'a Russian Social-Democratic Party'; (b) that the group called the 'Revolutionary Social-Democratic organisation *Volya*' similarly does not regard itself as being part of the RSDLP, and sets itself the task, as is clear from its manifesto, of uniting the Social-Democrats with the Socialist-Revolutionaries — the congress places on record that neither of these organisations belongs to the Party or has anything in common with the organised Russian Social-Democratic movement. The question of the future relationship of these groups with the Party is to be decided by the CC of the Party, if these groups make application to it.'

*Gusev:* *Yuzhny Rabochy* performed two functions, literary and technical (conveyance of literature, etc.) So far as its literary role is concerned it would be appropriate, perhaps, to shift this question to the item on publications. So far as the technical side is concerned, the establishment of the Central Committee renders unnecessary the further existence of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group. Still, it might be better to leave this question to be dealt with by the CC.

*Yegorov:* The congress found it necessary to declare itself regarding all the other groups, which also performed various functions. Why make an exception of us? The congress should pronounce its opinion definitely.

*Lyadov:* One can't confuse those groups with *Yuzhny Rabochy*. They were not present here, but *Yuzhny Rabochy* is present, has taken part in our debates — in other words, has undertaken to submit to the CC. This question should be shifted to the item about Party publications.

*Kostich:* I have already brought up the question of the close link between the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* and that of the popular organ. *Yuzhny Rabochy* performed that function for all Russia. It was read and disseminated in large numbers not only in the South but also in Central Russia and everywhere else. I propose that this question be transferred to the item in Party publications.

*Yegorov:* Which will not be discussed!

*Chairman:* You are interpreting wrongly our resolution of yesterday. This question can be discussed if only ten persons request it.

*Muravyov:* These questions are not connected in any way. The question of popular literature is one thing and the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* as a technical group is another. When the *Iskra* group was found to be dissolved, no doubts about that were raised here. It should be the same with *Yuzhny Rabochy*.

*Kostich* moved a resolution for the question of a popular organ to be discussed.

*Chairman (Lenin):*<sup>1</sup> This proposal cannot be adopted without the signature of ten persons.

*Plekhanov:* The resolution we adopted yesterday makes it impossible for this question to be discussed.

*Yegorov:* We ask that this question be decided immediately, 'yes' or 'no'. If it is moved to the item on publications that will mean removing it from discussion altogether.

*Orlov:* *Yuzhny Rabochy* fulfilled two functions. In practice, its work amounted to uniting the Party. *Yuzhny Rabochy* gave vigorous help to the OC in its preparatory work. In view of the establishment of the Central Organ and the Central Committee these functions have become entirely superfluous. As regards the literary functions of *Yuzhny Rabochy*, the collaboration of the members of this group in *Iskra* will be very fruitful. *He then moved a resolution.\**

*Chairman:* We have two resolutions before us. Which shall we discuss?

*Lyadov:* Comrade Kostich's resolution is out of order. The question of the popular organ should be deferred.

*The Chairman* proposed that Kostich's resolution be voted on. He asked the comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy* to express their views about the future, so that the matter might be settled to mutual satisfaction.

*Popov:* I say again: if the congress finds it necessary for *Yuzhny Rabochy* to continue, we shall go on publishing it: if otherwise, we shall not. We have delivered our report, and, besides, many organisations have had very active relations with us and know us very well. The congress has quite enough material with which to settle the question. The congress has decisively and definitively given its view regarding the Union, *Borba* and so on. It remains for the congress to do the same in relation to us.

*Yegorov:* Although we are all individually members of the Party, it nevertheless consists of a number of organisations with which we have to reckon as historical entities. They can either be broken up or they can continue. But if such an organisation is not detrimental to the

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\* Orlov's resolution: 'Noting the fruitful literary and organisational activity of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group for the unification and restoration of the Party; expressing, further, its confidence that the chaos in respect of principles and organisation which for so long divided Russia's Social-Democrats will, with the setting-up of the highest Party institutions, come to an end; and recognising that, in the present state of the Party's forces the existence of two all-Russia Party organs is undesirable — the second congress of the RSDLP considers that the continued existence of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group as a collective entity is unnecessary, declares it to be disbanded, and proposes to its members that they join the appropriate Party organisations.'

Party, there is no need to dissolve it. *Iskra* considered that it was necessary for it to disband. *Yuzhny Rabochy* does not consider this necessary. I repeat, there is no point in linking this question with that of a popular organ.

*Gusev*: The question is not one of treating *Yuzhny Rabochy* as being detrimental, and so on, in order to dissolve it. Everyone has already said enough about how useful *Yuzhny Rabochy* has been. *Iskra* was even more useful, but it considered it necessary to declare itself disbanded and assimilated into the Party. We expect the same of *Yuzhny Rabochy*.

*Rusov*: I must give a straight answer to Comrade Yegorov's question. *Yuzhny Rabochy* stated quite definitely in its time that it was in complete solidarity with *Iskra*. That is why the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* is a bit ticklish. But we must speak bluntly. The question is this: do we need, in addition to the Party organ, other, local organs, such as *Rabochaya Mysl*, *Yuzhny Rabochy*, or *Nashe Dyelo*? I am not comparing them as regards quality. I am opposed in general to the existence of local organs. *Yuzhny Rabochy* is unnecessary, like *Rabochaya Mysl* and *Nashe Dyelo*.

*Yegorov*: That's a lie! *Yuzhny Rabochy* can't be put on a level with *Rabochaya Mysl*.

*Chairman*: I cannot allow you to talk like that. Withdraw what you said.

*Rusov*: I was not thinking at all of putting *Yuzhny Rabochy* on a level with *Rabochaya Mysl*. I meant something different. [General commotion in the hall and shouts of: 'Point of order!' and 'Withdraw!' The chairman rings his bell.]

*Yegorov*: All right! After *Rusov*'s explanation I am willing to withdraw what I said.

*Rusov (continuing)*: All the Party's existing forces must be directed into the Party organ. All non-Party and local organs are superfluous. The local publications in Yiddish, Armenian and Georgian are a different matter: we can't get by without them. *Yuzhny Rabochy* was very useful, but we can't take account here of Party sympathies.

*Lange*: Comrade Yegorov's point of departure, which is that 'what is not harmful is useful,' or, 'if *Yuzhny Rabochy* was useful, then it

should be left alone,' is not a position of principle. It is permeated with that very spirit against which the congress has been fighting all along. We must approach the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* from a different angle. If the comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy* had adhered more strictly to principle earlier, a year or two ago, the unity of the Party and the triumph of the programmatic principles which we have sanctioned here would have been achieved earlier. Yes, indeed: if the talented literary forces of *Yuzhny Rabochy*, instead of being spent on producing a popular organ which was published in one, two or three thousand copies and which appeared once in every two or three months, had joined together with the forces of *Iskra*, then we should have had an even richer content and *Iskra* would have been even more readable for the workers, and, furthermore, we should have had a large quantity of popular literature, of which we stand in such great need, and this literature would have reached the North and other parts more abundantly than it did. Consequently, all the more so now, when we have met together to unite our forces, to put an end to all survivals of amateurism, all the more so now must we not allow any dispersion, and therefore the comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy* ought to devote their forces to that institution which by the will of the congress has been designated for the production of our literature in general and our popular literature in particular. For this reason I am definitely in favour of *Yuzhny Rabochy* ceasing to exist.

*Deutsch:* The previous speakers have said essentially all that there is to say. The position the congress is in is very ticklish, since *Yuzhny Rabochy* does not want to disband, but Comrade Gusev has very aptly reminded us of what happened with the 'Emancipation of Labour' group and *Iskra*. They realised that with the setting-up of Party institutions their further existence was unnecessary, and so they put an end to it. Yes, it is hard, but we have to say to you, comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy*, that your existence as a group is unnecessary. I am very grateful to Rusov for the blunt way he put the question. For a second organ besides *Iskra* to exist, in our state of poverty, is a luxury we can't afford. Only organisational chaos accounts for the fact that the two exist simultaneously. I have waited in vain for an answer to the question as to what line on general Party publications the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group would take up. I think, therefore, that it is logical to discuss the question of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group in connection with that of Party publications. Since they protest against disbandment, I



am at a loss, and I say bluntly that the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group is not needed as a separate organisation.

*Muravyov*: When Comrade Gusev mentioned *Iskra* in his speech, somebody exclaimed: 'But it hasn't been abolished!' That is true.

But did Comrade Yegorov and all the others who voted for *Iskra* to be endorsed as the Party's Central Organ do that because *Iskra* was harmless? No, of course not. In endorsing *Iskra* we all assumed that it would, as the Central Organ, be in the highest degree useful to the Party.

*Pavlovich*: I propose that the discussion be ended. Why have we spent two hours trying to get an answer from *Yuzhny Rabochy*? The *Yuzhny Rabochy* comrades have quite properly remained silent. It is wrong to interrogate them. What would be best would be to settle the question of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group as an organisation. At the same time we can talk about a popular organ, since *Yuzhny Rabochy* was very useful in that connection.

*Plekhanov (Chairman)*: Nobody has subjected *Yuzhny Rabochy* to interrogation. In the interests of mutual agreement I wanted to clarify matters with the comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy*, to learn what their views about the future were.

*Pavlovich's proposal for closure of the discussion was rejected.*

*Glebov*: While esteeming *Yuzhny Rabochy* highly, I should like to see all our forces united around the Central Organ. If the comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy* are in complete solidarity with *Iskra*, it is to be desired that they take part in the work of the Central Organ. That would be very useful for *Iskra*. I am strongly in favour of the disbandment of *Yuzhny Rabochy*, out of concern for concentrating our forces.

*Popov*: I don't understand why the chairman, after Comrade Rusov's speech, which took a very correct line, had to go back to the beginning of the debate. I am speaking on the item of the agenda we are supposed to be discussing — the place of different groups in the Party, not Party publications. It remains to be decided whether we need the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group. The question of the Union and that of *Borba* have already been settled. They have been deemed superfluous and invited to work in the Party. Now, after the speeches by Comrades Rusov and Orlov everything is clear. The question of

*Yuzhny Rabochy* should be decided without any relation to Party publications.

*Lyadov:* The question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* cannot be separated from that of Party publications. The *Yuzhny Rabochy* group is at the same time the editorial board of *Yuzhny Rabochy*. If we decide against having a popular organ we decide that the existence of *Yuzhny Rabochy* is unnecessary. But bringing *Yuzhny Rabochy* into conjunction with the question of a popular organ is essentially incorrect. *Yuzhny Rabochy* was not at all a popular organ. It was a surrogate for *Iskra*, and an unsuccessful one at that. The question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* needs to be taken along with the question of local organs.

*Lenin:* After all these explanations I find it most expedient to adopt Kostich's resolution on the popular organ. It has been said that *Yuzhny Rabochy* wanted to be a popular organ, and occupied a corresponding position in the Party. In the interests of the cause, in view of the delicate situation into which we have fallen, it is right to recognise this 'case' as deserving special attention and to allow ourselves to make a departure from the rule we adopted yesterday. We should proceed to discuss the question of the popular organ, although this is irregular, This ought to be allowed, and I favour making this one exception.

*Trotsky:* These questions are indeed very much connected, and for that very reason Lenin's proposal should be decisively rejected. We have more important questions to discuss and ought not to waste time. I am for rejecting Lenin's proposal.

*Martov:* I agree with Trotsky. Two departures from rules which have been permitted by the Bureau need to be mentioned here. First, Kostich's resolution, which had not been signed by ten delegates, should not even have been read, and second, discussion of it should not have been allowed. Although these questions are connected, the comrades from *Yuzhny Rabochy* will probably not insist that this question be discussed before the elections. I move that Kostich's resolution be rejected, since it runs counter to our decision of yesterday. Not much time is left, and if we get on to the question of the popular organ, which, according to our decision taken yesterday, can be considered only after the elections, we run the risk that the most important items on the agenda will have to be decided in haste.

*Byelov:* Without having discussed the question of the popular organ

we cannot answer the question as to whether we need *Yuzhny Rabochy*. I agree with Lenin's proposal.

*Deutsch*: I am against Lenin's proposal. Let me remind the congress that we have to disperse on Saturday.

*Trotsky*: Only four can speak on a point of order: you are letting them speak. [*Shouts: 'You're wrong!'*]

*Martov*: Only four can speak on the question of discussing Kostich's resolution.

*Chairman*: Our list of speakers has not been closed.

*Lenin*: I can't stop the speakers. Speak, Comrade Gorin!

*Gorin*: By virtue of the decision to recognise *Iskra* as the central organ, all other organs performing a similar role were dissolved. If *Yuzhny Rabochy* was a general organ, then it was *ipso facto* suppressed. If it was a district paper, the question will be gone into later. What we have to deal with here is the disbandment of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group, without predetermining the question of the popular organ.

*Posadovsky*: I propose that the discussion be ended.

*This proposal was passed.*

*Martov* moved a resolution for the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* to be left open until the question of Party publications came up for discussion, and to proceed immediately to the elections.

*Chairman (Lenin) (having read the resolution)*: Martov's resolution puts us in a completely impossible position. [*Great commotion, shouts, protests.*]<sup>2</sup>

*Martov withdrew his resolution, vigorously protesting at Lenin's statement.* [*The uproar in the hall grows louder.*]

*Lenin*: Comrades! Let me say this: I spoke only of the impossible position in which we are put by Martov's proposal that we transfer the question to another item of the agenda. I was fully entitled, and even obliged, as Chairman, to refer to the incompatibility of Martov's proposal with the agenda. I admit guilt only, perhaps, in showing partiality to the agenda. I repeat, I could not have acted otherwise.

*Popov*: The Bureau has a resolution from Comrade Orlov. I ask that it be put to the vote.

*Trotsky*: After leaving to the will of fate the question of the popular organ we can with equal justification treat the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* in the same way. More important questions remain for us to deal with. Lenin is wrong. He did not explain Martov's resolution but started a polemic against it. He had no right to do that! Adopting Kostich's resolution also means a direct breach of the rules we adopted.

*Lenin*: The Bureau states that it considers itself justified in putting Kostich's resolution to the vote.

*Popov* asked that Orlov's resolution be voted on.

*Martov* moved the following resolution: 'In view of the fact that the question of elections to the central institutions is one without settling which the congress cannot break up, and in view of the fact that introducing into the agenda questions other than those provided for in yesterday's decision might prevent a decision being taken on the most urgent task, the congress rules that the question of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group will be considered in connection with the question of Party publications, in accordance with the agenda, and proceeds to discuss the other parts of the agenda.'

*Lenin*: The Bureau considers that we cannot proceed to the elections before finishing with item 8. It is indeed necessary to get to the elections as soon as possible, and Martov's proposal would be acceptable if it did not propose to omit part of item 8. This would be another departure from the rule adopted.

*Martov*: May I speak? I must say, in reply, that, under the pretext of giving an explanation, the Bureau is arguing against my resolution. [*Commotion and protests in the hall.*] I propose that we discuss the remaining parts of item 8, but I categorically refuse to discuss immediately the question of a popular organ. I insist on my right to explain . . . [*The shouts and protests are intensified.*]

*Popov*: I don't understand how it is that our modest group has caused such passionate debate. I ask that Comrade Orlov's resolution be voted on.

*Lenin* proposed that Martov's resolution be voted on, though the Bureau did not agree.

*Martov's resolution was rejected by 24 to 11.*

*Lenin*: I put Kostich's resolution to the vote. [*Uproar and protests in the hall.*]

*Deutsch*: I propose that the session be closed.

*Martov*: Lenin is wrong in referring to the voting on my resolution as a departure from rule. This does not justify him in making a further departure. I hope that the Bureau will not refuse to answer this question.

*Lenin*: I will answer. Martov departed from the rule in that he postponed part of item 8 to an indefinite future. Comrade Kostich, on the contrary, wants to bring in here, under item 8, a question which is inseparably connected with this item. We are not justified in leaving part of item 8 undiscussed. I affirm that to vote on Comrade Kostich's resolution will not in any way go against the rule.

*Popov*: Owing to the strong feeling shown in the debate the Bureau has again made a mistake. It has agreed to put to the vote a resolution which is contrary to rule, since it lacks the signatures of ten persons. This is inadmissible.

*Lenin*: Not at all. Since a departure from the rules was allowed in putting Martov's resolution to the vote, the Bureau is justified in similarly putting Kostich's resolution to the vote.

*Deutsch*: I doubt whether the Bureau can decide this controversial point. It should appeal to the congress.

*Kostich*: I withdraw my resolution.

*Lenin*: In that case I give it my backing.

*Kostich*: And I move a different resolution, for the settlement of this problem to be referred to the Central Committee.

*A discussion took place on which resolution should be taken first. Eventually, by 31 votes to five, with five abstentions, Orlov's resolution, as amended by Martov, was adopted. Martov's amendment was to delete the phrase beginning with the word 'expressing' and ending with the words 'come to an end', and substitute another phrase.*

*Chairman:* Let us pass to the resolutions about other groups. On the list we have: (1) the *Borba* group, (2) the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, (3) the Kuklin press group (formerly *Zhizn*), (4) the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group, (5) the Revolutionary Social-Democratic Organisation *Volya*. Does anyone wish to add other organisations to the list?

*Karsky:* I propose adding *Borba Proletariata*, in Caucasia.

*Pavlovich:* I propose adding *Rabochaya Volya*, in Odessa.

*Glebov:* I propose adding the 'Voronezh Fighting Fund'.

*Lvov:* I propose adding *Svoboda*.

*Rusov:* I propose deleting the editorial board of the Caucasian organ.

*Karsky:* I protest against Rusov's proposal and insist that the editorial board of *Borba Proletariata* be included in the list.

*The congress agreed with Rusov's proposal.*

*Karsky:* I ask that a vote be taken on my proposal that *Borba Proletariata* be recognised as the party organ of the Caucasian Social-Democratic Association.

*The Chairman* declined to accept Karsky's proposal, on the grounds that the editorial board of *Borba Proletariata* had already been deleted from the list.

*The congress also decided not to include in the list the other organisations which had been mentioned: Rabochaya Volya, the Voronezh Fighting Fund, and Svoboda. The rapporteur of the commission which had been discussing the proposed agreement with the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania then spoke.*

*Fomin (rapporteur)* reported on the results of the talks and presented the commission's resolution for discussion.\*

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\* The commission's resolution: 'Expressing regret that the departure of the Polish comrades from the congress, due to accidental circumstances, has deprived the congress of the possibility of concluding the discussion of the question of the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania joining the RSDLP, and hoping that it will only be a matter of time before they join, the congress authorises the Central Committee to continue the talks begun at the congress.'

*Yegorov* proposed that a special resolution be introduced regarding the Polish comrades' demand on the 'self-determination' point.

*Lenin* considered that it was clear enough from the minutes what the views of the congress were on this matter. There was no need to renew discussion on it.

*The resolution was passed with 33 votes, four delegates abstaining.*

*The congress expressed itself further in the sense that confirmation of the list of local and non-local organisations was a task for the CC, on the basis of the decisions taken earlier, passed to consideration of item 18 of the agenda, the elections to the Party's central institutions.*

*Rusov:* We now have to deal, comrades, with important questions affecting the whole Party, namely, the creation of the Party centres. All the enormous amount of work we have done at the congress, the programme and rules we have worked out, will come to nothing if we do not elect an effective body. But, before we proceed to the elections themselves, we must decide on the actual methods of election. I should think the best method would be to elect two trios, one for the Central Committee and the other for the editorial board of the Central Organ. This election, as also all elections of functionaries, should be carried out by secret written vote. For greater security I think it would be a good idea, as regards the election to the CC, that determination of the results of the voting should be entrusted to the chairman, and then only one person out of those elected will be made known to the congress. I put a proposal to this effect to the Bureau.

*Trotsky:* I support Comrade Rusov's proposal. The question of the editorial board of the Central Organ is easier, simpler, and can be disposed of at once.

I therefore propose that the question of the appointment of the editorial board be separated from that of the appointment of the Central Committee, and that the former be taken first.

*Koltsov:* Our rules, which are in general not distinguished by particular indulgence towards so-called 'democratism', make an exception, for some reason, where the editorial board is concerned. If I did not challenge this point when the rules were being discussed, this was only because the word 'appoints' has a wider meaning than the word 'elects'. As far as I am aware of the practice of West-European Social-Democratic Parties, I know of two possibilities: either (1) the

organ is created after the party has been constituted, and then the party's executive committee is given the task of 'appointing' the editorial board of the central organ, or (2) the organ existed previously, as is the case with us, and in such a case the party, in endorsing a particular organ endorses at the same time its editorial board. I move a resolution to that effect.

*Posadovsky*: Comrades! It is proposed that we elect three editors for our central organ, *Iskra*. I regard that proposal of Comrade Rusov's as unacceptable. We know, comrades, one, integral *Iskra*. This entity we have recognised as our Party organ, because we know it. But how can we know which of the old editorial board played what role in creating that harmonious whole which we possessed in *Iskra*? What arguments can be adduced in support of Comrade Rusov's proposal? Only one, that in the editorial board as it was composed there might have been some dissonances, and in order to get rid of these dissonances it is necessary to reduce the number of editors, and choose three. But what assurance have we that *Iskra* would be better without these dissonances? Why is it not possible to suppose that it is just because of them that *Iskra* has become what it is? I think that we cannot go into an analysis of which members of the old board played what role in creating *Iskra*, and since it seems to me impossible to choose three persons without such an analysis, I am against Comrade Rusov's proposal, and support the proposal the the old editorial board of *Iskra*, complete, be recognised as the editorial board of our Central Organ.

*Lvov* agreed with Comrade Rusov's proposal that the question of the Central Organ be taken first. A special commission should be elected to count the votes.

*Muravyov*: Comrade Koltsov says that the rules speak of 'appointing' the editorial board, and that, in his view, it would be most natural to interpret this passage, in its application to the question now before us, as meaning that the old editorial board should be confirmed in office. I cannot agree with this interpretation. The term 'appointment', as was, I think, made clear when the rules were being worked out, was preferred precisely because it covers both election and confirmation. I cannot agree, either, with Comrade Trotsky's proposal, that we first appoint the editorial board and then talk about elections to the CC. This would only take up more of our time, and it has been



said here more than once how undesirable it is to drag out the session of the congress. Comrade Posadovsky, in proposing that the old editorial board be confirmed, says that 'if there are some minor dissonances', the congress is not competent to undertake an examination of such circumstances. In my opinion it is now quite clear to the majority of the congress that such 'dissonances' undoubtedly do exist. And just because of that, I support Comrade Rusov's proposal that an editorial board consisting of three persons be elected by the congress, by secret written vote.

*Martov:* Since Comrade Muravyov has frankly raised the question of internal relations among the members of the former editorial board of *Iskra*, in order to eliminate which a board of three should be established, three other editors of *Iskra* and myself consider that it would be more convenient if this question were to be discussed without our being present. We are therefore leaving the meeting so that in our absence comrades can express their views on this matter with greater freedom and lack of restraint. [*General commotion and uproar in the hall. Martov, Starover, Zasluch and Akselrod make their way to the exit.*]

*Plekhanov:* As chairman I would not allow anyone to talk here about the internal affairs of the editorial board. But I agree that our presence might embarrass the congress, and I think the other members of the board will leave as well. We shall also leave. I entrust you, Comrade Pavlovich, with the responsibility of taking the chair. [*All the members of the editorial board leave.*]

*Pavlovich* proposed that the congress express its view as to whether the editors should be present during the discussion.

[*Incredible uproar in the hall – impossible to hear anything.*]

*Trotsky* spoke about Comrade Muravyov's statement regarding the internal relations of the editorial board.

*Muravyov* protested that his meaning had been misrepresented by Trotsky.

*Trotsky (continuing):* It was enough for one person to feel embarrassed by such a statement for the entire editorial board to leave the hall *in corpore*, so as to ensure a calm discussion. We have now considerably facilitated our task of discussing this question.

*Lange*: I don't agree with Trotsky. I don't understand why the editorial board should have felt embarrassed. These dissonances are not our concern. We shall decide the question purely on a basis of principle, and to do this we need to have the editors participating in our discussion.

*Tsaryov* proposed that the discussion be closed.

*Popov*: I think, comrades, that the question of procedure can be settled quickly by a decision on the substance of the matter. In this connection I should like to repeat what Comrade Posadovsky said. I should not have wished to touch on those 'dissonances' of which Comrade Muravyov spoke, but since they have been mentioned, I would advise Comrade Muravyov, considering his particular cast of mind, not to undertake such delicate commissions. [*Stormy applause.*] Let me remind you, comrades, of the day when we discussed item 3 of our agenda. On that occasion the speeches of Comrade Yegorov and myself were met with loud applause — and not, of course, because of what we said, but because *Iskra*, endorsement of which as the central organ we were proposing, merited that applause. Remembering that day now, I am amazed at the change which has taken place. Now, Comrade Rusov does not favour the editorial board with his confidence, and demands that it submit to re-election, and this meets with the backing of a considerable section of the comrades. For my part, I am not at all satisfied with the reasons given by Comrade Rusov, and I consider that to go into the internal relations of the editorial board and evaluate individual members of it would be both useless and unworthy of the congress. I propose therefore that we do what we have already done once — confirm the editorial board of *Iskra* as at present composed.

[*Popov's speech was several times interrupted by stormy applause. When he finished, general commotion reigned in the hall once more.*]

*Yegorov*: Order will be restored if we confirm the editorial board in corpore.

*Panin* (on a point of order) asked that the proposal already made to close the discussion be voted on.

*The proposal was rejected.*

*Lange* moved the following resolution: 'In our discussion of the question of electing the editorial board, which we now have to do,

there can be nothing that would render undesirable the presence of the editorial board here at this moment.'

*Pavlovich* proposed that this resolution be voted on, and expressed hope that it would clear the atmosphere.

*Fomin*: We must proceed to discuss the substance of the matter, without bringing pressure to bear on the editors, who have left.

*Rusov*: There is nothing delicate in what we have to discuss. The editorial board should be asked to return.

*Lange*: We shall not say anything that would be uncomfortable for the editors to hear.

*Kostich* asked that a vote be taken on the admissibility of *Lange's* resolution.

*Gusev*: Voting on Comrade *Kostich's* proposal would be a complete waste of time, since those who will vote for not allowing this resolution to be considered will also vote against the resolution itself.

*Makhov*: And perhaps I shall find it improper that such a question should even be put to the vote.

*Kostich's proposal was adopted by 19 to 16, with two abstentions.*

*The Chairman* read some resolutions which had been handed in to the Bureau. [*Several persons spoke at the same time about resolutions they had submitted. General disorder.*]

*Popov*: I propose that we confirm the editorial board as a whole.

*Koltsov* asked several times to raise a point of order, but owing to the uproar nobody heard him.

*Trotsky*: Comrades! I draw your attention to that fact that our time is being lost in a dialogue between the chairman and Comrade *Rusov*. We should proceed at once to vote on the question whether to elect the editorial board or to appoint it.

*The Chairman* read the resolutions by *Koltsov*\* and *Trotsky*† and invited discussion of the latter.

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\* *Koltsov's* resolution: 'Having recognised *Iskra* as the Party's central organ, the congress has thereby also recognised its editorial board.'

† *Trotsky's* resolution: 'The congress considers it necessary to confirm the former editorial board of *Iskra* as a whole, without any elections.'

*Kostich:* The newspaper *Iskra* has done tremendous constructive work, as everybody has said at this congress. Everyone has said: 'The present congress is to a very great extent the work of *Iskra*.' Nobody has said, or could have said, how much of a contribution to this achievement was made by this person or that person. We in Russia recognised *Iskra*, as the leading organ, as an integral body. We endorsed it at the congress as the Party's central organ, as an integral body, and we in Russia understood the appointment of the editorial board as a confirmation of the editors as a body. And now we are being asked to choose three persons to edit the Central Organ, because of friction among the editors, says Comrade Muravyov. I regard Comrade Muravyov's statement, which shifted the focus of attention to the question of relations between individuals, as being, at the very least, extremely misplaced. We are not concerned with personal relations between the editors, and we have no right to meddle in these relations. If there is friction, an independent body will be able, on its own, to eliminate this. We have known the editorial board as an integral body, and as such we should confirm it.

*Tsaryov:* Comrade Rusov said that election of Party functionaries is a highly responsible task and difficult to carry out. That is quite true. Why, then, does he want to complicate this task still further, by proposing that we not only elect the CC, but also select a group of three out of the membership of the editorial board? What need is there to do this? Hitherto we have known not different individual members of the editorial board, but a harmonious collective which played such an outstanding role in the life of our Party, brilliantly proved its capacity for work, and won general approval. Why does Rusov want to select a trio of 'the best'? Which of us who has not been initiated into the intimate life of the editorial board is able, so to speak, to decide the relative weight of each member of the editorial board in the work they perform together? And how will the editors who are not re-elected feel about the fact that the congress does not want to see them on the board any more? Hitherto we have known a single entity, the editorial board. Almost all the committees recognised it as their leading organ. And we too, by recognising *Iskra* as our Party organ, recognised it, of course, with that composition of the editorial board which has prevailed up to now. I propose that we leave this composition unchanged in the future, as well, and I express profound conviction that our decision will meet with great rejoicing in all parts and every corner of Russia.

*Popov:* The question has been made clear. I propose that the discussion be ended. We have already discussed item 3 of the agenda. Our recognition of *Iskra* as the leading organ has settled the question. Going into their internal dissonances is out of place and unworthy of the congress.

*Chairman:* The question cannot be put like that. Why does this have to be seen as an expression of disrespect?

*Gusev:* Comrade Popov is afraid that we are going to investigate the personal relations of the members of the editorial board. Let him not worry. We are not going to touch on that. We have tact and know how to conduct a discussion.

*The congress voted on and adopted with 20 votes a proposal to close the list of speakers. [During the voting a rather sharp interchange took place between Comrades Deutsch and Orlov.]*

*It was proposed that the time allowed to speakers be restricted to three minutes (Yegorov), two minutes (Fomin) and five minutes (the Chairman). The proposal for two minutes received 16 votes, that for three received 20, and that for five received eight.*

*Gorin:* The proposal that the editorial board be elected has not been understood here at all. This question is a purely technical one. I look upon it as a way of simplifying the editors' work through an election. We could let them carry out the election themselves, but it would be better for us to do it.

*Posadovsky:* Something that I said, in a conditional way, was used very irrelevantly by Comrade Muravyov, and raised quite a storm. I will try to explain my meaning. By electing three members of the old board and discarding three others, we thereby undertake, and *cannot but undertake* an analysis and a judgement of the role of particular editors in the creation of *Iskra*, we enter into that evaluation of 'dissonances' which Comrade Muravyov engaged in. In that harmonious whole, homogeneous as crystal, that was *Iskra*, I do not think it possible to distinguish what was created by this editor or by that. I warn you, comrades, against breaking into that entity, I protest against the meddling in that entity which has been proposed to us. If you follow the advice that has been suggested to you, what certainty have you that, in suppressing dissonances, you will not lose what is most valuable? By electing three of the six members of the old

editorial board, you pronounce the other three to be unnecessary and superfluous. And you have neither any right to do that nor any grounds for doing it.

*Rusov:* The nervous excitement and the impassioned atmosphere which has been created here by the discussion of the question of electing members of the editorial board has resulted in our hearing strange speeches from the lips of revolutionaries, speeches that are in marked disharmony with the concepts of Party work and Party ethics. The basic argument of those opposed to electing trios amounts to a purely philistine conception of Party affairs. If you do not elect Ivan Ivanovich, a prominent Party worker, you are expressing lack of confidence in him, and thereby insulting him. After all, they keep telling us, you don't know whether such and such a person is able to carry out the functions of such and such a Party institution — you can't investigate the internal life of the organisations in which a given individual formerly worked, so how can you choose amongst them? In such circumstances the removal of these persons signifies an expression by the congress of no confidence in them, something quite undeserved and therefore inadmissible. And this is said not only by young revolutionaries but also by such an experienced revolutionary as Comrade Deutsch. [*General commotion, protests, threatening cries.*] If we adopt this standpoint, which is a philistine and not a Party standpoint, we shall at every election have to consider: will not Petrov be offended if Ivanov is elected and not he, will not some member of the former Organising Committee be offended if another member, and not he, is elected to the Central Committee? Where is this going to land us, comrades? If we have gathered here for the purpose of creating a Party, and not of indulging in mutual compliments and philistine sentimentality, then we can never agree to such a view. We are about to elect functionaries, and there can be no talk of lack of confidence in any person not elected; our only consideration should be the interests of the work and a person's suitability for the post to which he is being elected. This is why I urgently bring it to comrades' attention that they should not let themselves be drawn into the delusion of philistinely tender speeches about lack of confidence being shown in those not elected, but in all their elections, just as in all else that they do, take the standpoint of the interests of the Party, of the common cause. I am surprised that none other than Comrade Trotsky attacks the election of trios. Did he not, at the preliminary

meetings, defend, foaming at the mouth, the agenda we adopted? And not a word did he utter about there being heresy in it in the shape of the election of trios.

*Lyadov:* The editorial board themselves proposed the election of trios. We must get rid once for all of this question of confidence.

*Trotsky:* I want to reply to the 'young revolutionary' Rusov. [*Up-roar.* *Bekov:* 'Please do not use such expressions as "young revolutionary"!'] Please be quiet, comrades, as I have only three minutes, and I want to use them in order to explain that the words 'young revolutionary' cannot be insulting to anybody. Rusov himself used them when he attacked the old revolutionary Deutsch. Comrade Rusov alleged that I defended the so-called idea of two trios. That is not so. Comrade Rusov might say, however, simply that I defended, as a whole, the agenda, apparently drawn up by the editors, which included a mention of 'two trios'. That, I hope, is something quite different. It has been said several times here that the plan to elect 'two trios' was the editors' plan. And that is not true. It was the plan of only one of the editors. But even if this plan had been drawn up by the whole board, that would not have altered anything. The editorial board could place itself completely at the disposal of the congress, but the congress itself should set limits to its interference. The congress has neither the moral nor the political right to refashion the editorial board. Such a right is not given us, of course, by the impressions we might form, during the sessions of the congress, of persons more or less 'susceptible to dissonances', to use Comrade Muravyov's words. The editorial board worked together as a whole, for three years, and we know what this collective entity achieved. Let us allow the board to make its own changes in composition, if it finds need for any. This is too delicate a question for the congress to get its hands on. The congress will do better from both the moral and the political angle if it votes unanimously for the collective entity whose name is *Iskra!* [*Prolonged applause.*]

*Gusev:* If the proposal for an editorial trio angers Comrade Trotsky so much today, we can only wonder why, previously, it not only did not anger him but, on the contrary, caused him to make fervent speeches in its defence. And those who, earlier, warmly defended the 'trio' have now greeted Comrade Trotsky with stormy applause when he spoke of the congress laying its paw on that 'harmonious whole', the former editorial board of *Iskra*, which Trotsky defended. Comrade Tsaryov

waxed indignant in his speech today against the proposal by Comrade Rusov that a trio be elected, but not so long ago Comrade Lenin's proposal failed to anger him, although Comrade Rusov's proposal is quite literally a repetition of Comrade Lenin's. How quickly everything has changed. As to the proposal by Comrades Trotsky and Koltsov, to confirm the old editorial board, I say that it is tactless. It is tactless, first, because it turns the important question of electing the editorial board of the Party organ into a question of confidence. And to make this question of confidence the centre of attention is already tactless, in itself, because it puts the members of the old board in an awkward position. It is tactless, in the second place, because by turning the question of electing the editorial board into a question of confidence, it constitutes a restriction on the freedom in electing the editorial board of the Party organ which the congress must possess. We are faced with an important task, the election of the editorial board. And for the editorial board of the Party organ, for the body which, according to our rules, is not only to bear literary responsibilities but also to fulfil a number of other important functions, we need not only writers but also administrators. This right to elect suitable persons to the editorial board you want to take away from us, turning the question of elections into a question of confidence. We already expressed confidence once, when we recognised *Iskra* as the Party organ. And we mentioned in that resolution not only the literary services but also a number of other services, organisational and practical, rendered by *Iskra*, which you have now forgotten. You were the first to bring up the question of confidence, and you are responsible for the results that have followed from that error of tact. And by raising the question of confidence you revealed that, as Comrade Rusov quite rightly said, you are not Party people but philistines.

*Lange:* Why all this pathos, these just-shed tears? After all, nobody wants to murder anyone here! Besides, this maternal concern for the honour of *Iskra* on the part of certain persons is astonishing. What, actually, do we want? We only want the congress, the supreme organ of the Party, to declare, quite deliberately and definitely who it wishes to see in charge of its central organ. Bear in mind that our Central Organ is something more than a literary group — it is part of our CC, of our revolutionary practical centre, and it will exercise influence in the Party Council. What is there offensive about it if the congress, in view of this, wants the central organ to be headed by quite definite persons, persons known to the congress, persons meeting the



requirements I have mentioned? I think it would be more offensive to *Iskra* if we were to shut our eyes to this important task, owing to the 'delicacy' of the question.

*Brouckère*: I think that the majority will be consistent only if it endorses the previous editorial board of *Iskra*, and thereby confirms what was pre-determined by it when we discussed item 3 of the agenda. I only wanted to mention that, when item 3 was under discussion, this same majority — including, if I am not mistaken, Comrade Trotsky — denied that by endorsing *Iskra* as the Central Organ we were thereby pre-determining the election of the editorial board.

*Pavlovich*: I don't understand why such pathetic speeches are being made here. Mention was made of the harmonious composition of the editorial board. The draft rules were presented by a member of the board, with the authority of the rest of the members. Comrade Trotsky warmly defended them only a few days ago. The editorial board consists of six persons. A body of six may prove, as a body, to be ineffectual. [*Uproar.*] If, placed in unfavourable circumstances, the editorial board of *Iskra* achieved tremendous results in its work, this happened not thanks to the abnormal size of the board but despite this abnormality. All the more are we obliged, in the interests of the work, to provide a normal setting for it through a free election. There is no insult to anybody in an election. We cannot perpetuate a form of statute which is inconvenient for the editorial workers themselves. Besides, let me recall that there is the right of co-option.

*Glebov*: The conduct of the newspaper is a task for the Party. I think that a large body is too unwieldy to do the work. Editorial work by six persons holds things up. [*Protests.*] It would be better if the board consisted of three only. That's not a big number. If six persons formed a harmonious entity, then why could not three do the same? If *Iskra* was well run, why should it not be just as well-run in the future?

*Sorokin*: I fully understand the strong feeling shown in this dispute. But why resort to practices against which we have always protested? Why this poking into someone else's soul indulged in by Comrade Popov? Was it permissible for Comrade Deutsch to try demonstratively to pillory comrades who did not agree with him? In that way an impossible atmosphere is created. We have been told more than once

that we are here as Party members, and must, therefore, be guided exclusively by political considerations. And yet at the present moment everything is being brought down to the personal level, to a question of confidence, or lack of it, in particular editors. And even the numerous mentions of the fact that the draft agenda was put together by only one of the editors have assumed a very undesirable character. I must mention therefore a conversation I had with Comrade Martov, from which I learnt that the draft in question was approved by himself and the other editors. I say again, all concepts are muddled here. For my part I say that, in declaring myself in favour of elections to the editorial board, I am not expressing lack of confidence in the composition of the *Iskra* board and I do not believe I am lowering the dignity of a member of the congress.

*Makhov:* When we dealt with item 3 of the agenda we recognised *Iskra* as the central organ of the RSDLP, and the question was then asked as to what it was that we were proclaiming to be our central organ — just a signboard over an empty space, or that which was hidden beneath the signboard. I think it was the latter. Now we have presented to us an unequivocal proposal to change everything that was hidden beneath that signboard, leaving only the signboard itself. You have heard what miserable arguments are used in support of this proposal. These arguments do not deserve detailed consideration. But since a certain proposal has been put forward, since arguments have been advanced in favour of it, it would be more consistent to remove at one and the same time the proposal and the signboard itself, and, consequently, to recognise that our decision under item 3 of the agenda was mistaken and ought to be rescinded.

*Lensky* moved a resolution that the meeting be closed. *This was adopted by 21 to 18.*

*The session was closed.*

## Thirty-first Session

*(Present: 36 delegates with 44 mandates and  
11 persons with consultative voice.)*

**Trotsky:** In view of the fact that endorsement of the old editorial board of *Iskra* is merely equivalent to the election of certain persons, I demand that we have a secret ballot, in accordance with the rules.

**Hertz** asked that a vote be taken on inviting the editorial board to return to the hall.

**The Chairman (Pavlovich)** considered that Comrade Trotsky had misinterpreted the rules, and proposed that the congress decide on the way the editorial board should be appointed.

*Trotsky's proposal (for secret ballot) was put to the vote and rejected by 19 to 17, with three abstentions. Trotsky's proposal that the old editorial board be confirmed in its entirety was also voted on and rejected.*

**Rusov** put down a resolution to invite the old editorial board to take part in deciding the question of the election of an editorial board.

*This proposal was adopted, and the editorial board were invited to return to the hall.*

**Pavlovich** informed the editors of the result of the discussion and the votes taken.

**Fomin:** I think it necessary to add something to what Comrade Pavlovich said, since it was extremely incomplete. While the editorial comrades were away, we took a vote on Comrade Trotsky's proposal that we endorse the whole of the editorial board. According to the strict sense of the congress standing orders, elections of functionaries should be carried out by secret ballot. The endorsement of the editor-

ial board as a whole amounts, of course, to electing certain persons, known to the congress, to the editorial board of the Central Organ. And yet, despite the requirement of the standing orders, and regardless of the insistence of Comrade Trotsky, myself and other comrades, the majority of the congress rejected the demand of the minority for a secret ballot on Comrade Trotsky's proposal, and thereby deliberately violated the congress standing orders.

*Pavlovich:* What Fomin says is true, but the congress is sovereign and can do anything it likes.

*Plekhanov* considered it unnecessary to argue about this matter.

*Martov (making a statement on behalf of the majority of the former editorial board):* Now, comrades, after the proposal to endorse the old editorial board of the organ which has become the Party organ has been rejected, it is my duty to state the significance of this act. From now on, the old *Iskra* does not exist, and it would be more consistent to change the paper's name. At any rate, we see in the new resolution of the congress a substantial qualification of the vote of confidence in *Iskra* which was passed at one of the first sessions of the congress. Since it has now been decided to elect an editorial board of three, I must declare on my own behalf and that of the three other comrades that none of us will sit on this new editorial board. For myself, I must add that, if it be true that certain comrades wanted to include my name in the list of candidates for this 'trio', I must regard that as an insult which I have done nothing to deserve. I say this in view of the circumstances under which it has been decided to change the editorial board. The decision was taken on the grounds of some kind of 'friction', of the former editorial board having been ineffectual; moreover, the congress decided the matter along certain lines without questioning the editorial board about this friction or even appointing a commission to report on whether it had been ineffectual. Under the circumstances, I must regard the assumption of certain comrades that I would agree to sit on an editorial board reformed in this manner as a slur on my political reputation. Ryazanov might agree to such a role, but not the Martov whom, I think, you know from his work.

To finish with the personal aspect of the matter, I say further, regarding the statement made yesterday by Comrade Sorokin that the proposal for a 'trio' came from a section of the former editorial board, that this does not correspond to the truth, as the proposal came from Lenin alone. And now I turn to the political aspect of the matter . . .

*The Chairman (Plekhanov)* said that he could not allow Martov to continue, as this would mean engaging in discussion of a matter which the congress had already decided.

*Fomin* proposed that the congress be asked whether it wished to hear Martov.

*Popov*: Since Martov is making a statement about the departure of the majority of the members from the editorial board of *Iskra*, it seems to me that this is an event of extraordinary importance, and I consider that the congress ought to allow Martov to say all that he wants to say.

*The great majority of the delegates expressed themselves in favour of Martov continuing his speech.*

*Martov*: What has now taken place is the last act of the struggle which has raged during the second half of the congress. It is no secret to anyone that the issue involved in this reform is not 'efficiency' but a struggle for influence on the Central Committee. The majority of the editorial board showed that they did not want the Central Committee to be converted into a tool of the editorial board. That is why it was found necessary to reduce the number of members of the editorial board. And that is why I cannot join such an editorial board. Together with the majority of the old editorial board, I thought that the congress would put an end to the 'state of siege' in the Party and would establish normal conditions. But in fact the state of siege, with its exceptional laws against particular groups, is being continued and even stepped up. Only if the old editorial board remains in its entirety can we guarantee that the rights conferred on the editorial board by the rules will not be used to the detriment of the Party. We hope that the congress will entrust to worthy hands the organ which we have conducted for two and a half years, and with this hope I will conclude my 'farewell' statement.

*Sorokin*: I ask to speak, to make a personal observation.

*Trotsky*: We have adopted a procedure by which personal observations are relegated to the end of a session.

*The Chairman* called on Sorokin to speak.

*Sorokin*: Comrade Martov said that I distorted the facts. My correction related to the fact that Comrade Martov knew about Lenin's plan and did not protest at the time. [*Shouts*: 'He knew? He didn't protest?']

**Martov:** The Bureau allows private conversations to be reported, without the agreement of the interested parties and in their absence. I declare that what Comrade Sorokin said about yesterday's session does not correspond to the truth.

**Lenin:**\* I ask the congress to allow me to reply to Martov.

Comrade Martov said that the vote in question cast a slur on his political reputation. The election has nothing to do with an insult to a political reputation. [*Shouts: 'Wrong! Not true!' Plekhanov and Lenin protested, against the interruptions. Lenin asked the secretaries to enter in the minutes that Zasulich, Martov and Trotsky interrupted him, and asked that the number of times they interrupted him be recorded.*]

To take up this point of view is to deny the right of the congress to hold new elections, to make changes of any kind in the appointment of functionaries, or to alter the composition of the corporate bodies which derive their authority from the congress. The confusion resulting from such an approach is plain, if only from the example provided by the Organising Committee. We expressed to it the congress's complete confidence and gratitude, but at the same time we ridiculed the very idea that the congress had no right to examine the internal relations of the OC, and dismissed any assumption that the old composition of the OC would be a hindrance to us in effecting an 'uncomradely' change in this composition and forming a *new* Central Committee out of whatever elements we chose. I repeat: Comrade Martov's views on the permissibility of electing *part* of the previous body reveal an extreme state of confusion in his political ideas.

I now come to the question of the 'two trios'. Comrade Martov said that this whole plan for 'two trios' was the work of one person, one member of the editorial board (that it was, in fact, my plan) and that nobody else bore any responsibility for it. *I categorically protest against this assertion and declare that it is simply untrue.* Let me remind Comrade Martov that, several weeks before the congress, I plainly told him and another member of the editorial board that at the congress I would *demand* the *free election* of the editorial board. I gave up this plan only because *Comrade Martov* himself suggested to me the more convenient plan of electing 'two trios'. I thereupon formulated this plan on paper and sent it *first of all* to Comrade Martov himself,

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\* The beginning of Lenin's speech is reproduced here not in the form in which it was written but as it was corrected, with Lenin's agreement, during the reading of the minutes of this session (see Session 35).

who returned it to me with some corrections — here it is, I have the very copy, with Martov's corrections in red ink.<sup>1</sup> A number of comrades subsequently saw this plan dozens of times, all the members of the editorial board saw it too, and *no one at any time* formally protested against it. I say 'formally' because, if I am not mistaken, Comrade Akselrod did on one occasion drop some private remark to the effect that he had no liking for this plan. But it is obvious that, for a protest, the editorial board required something more than a private remark.

It was not without reason that, even before the congress, the editorial board took a formal decision to invite a definite seventh person to join it, so that, in the event that it became necessary to make any sort of joint statement at the congress, a firm decision could be taken, such as so often we failed to reach in our board of six. And *all the members of the editorial board know* that the addition of a seventh permanent member to the board of six was a matter of constant concern to us for a very long time. And so, I repeat, the solution by way of electing 'two trios' was a perfectly natural one, and I included it in my plan, *with the knowledge and consent* of Comrade Martov. And on many subsequent occasions Comrade Martov, together with Comrade Trotsky and others, at a number of private meetings of *Iskra* supporters, advocated this system of electing 'two trios'. In correcting Martov's statement about the personal character of the plan for 'two trios', however, I do not intend to say anything against Martov's statement regarding the 'political significance' of the step we took in not confirming the old editorial board. On the contrary, I fully and unreservedly agree with Comrade Martov that this is a step of great political significance — but not the significance which Martov ascribes to it. He said that it is an act in a struggle for influence on the CC in Russia. I go farther than Martov. All the activity of *Iskra* has up to now been a *struggle* for influence, as a separate group, but now it is something more, namely, a matter of *organisational consolidation* of this influence, and not merely of struggle for it.

The extent to which Comrade Martov and I differ on this point, *politically*, can be seen from the fact that he *blames* me for this desire to influence the CC, whereas I count it *to my credit* that I have striven and am striving to consolidate this influence by organisational means. It turns out that we even talk different languages. What would be the point of all our work, all our efforts, if they culminated in the same old struggle for influence, and not in complete acquisition and consolidation of influence? Yes, Comrade Martov is absolutely right: the step

we have taken is undoubtedly a *major political step*, testifying that one of the trends which have now taken shape has been chosen for the future work of our Party. And I am not in the least frightened by the dreadful words about 'a state of siege in the Party', about 'exceptional laws against particular persons and groups', and so on. We not only can but must create a 'state of siege' in relation to unstable and vacillating elements, and all our Party rules, the whole system of centralism which the congress has now approved, are nothing but a 'state of siege' with regard to the so numerous sources of *political diffuseness*. Against diffuseness special laws are needed, even if they be exceptional laws, and the step taken by the congress has correctly indicated the political direction to be followed, by creating a firm basis for *such* laws and *such* measures.

*Martov*: In view of the complete distortion of my words by Comrade Lenin, I ask the secretary to read the relevant passage from the minutes.

*The Secretary*, with the Chairman's permission, read from the minutes: 'For myself, I must add that by including my name in the list of three you have cast a slur on my political reputation. Only a Ryazanov, perhaps, would take part in such a combination, but not I.'

*Martov* said that he was quite satisfied.

*A vote was taken on Rusov's proposal\* and it was adopted by 25 to 2, with 17 abstentions. Kostrov's proposal† was rejected by 22 to 3 with 19 abstentions.*

*Panin*: Since, after Martov's statement, only two candidates for the editorship of the central organ remain, I ask whether there are any more candidates besides these.

*Lenin* said that there would be a secret ballot.

*Fomin*: Secret ballot does not exclude the presentation of a candidature.

*Lyadov*: All agitation and presentation of candidatures must end with the distribution of voting papers.

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\* Rusov's resolution: "The congress resolves to elect three persons to the editorial board of the central organ, by secret ballot."

† Kostrov's resolution: "The congress will elect one member of the editorial board, who will co-opt the others."



*Martov:* Nobody is forbidden to present candidates.

*Plekhanov:* The congress is sovereign and can, of course, decide to allow this, but the practice of other congresses does not permit it to be done.

*The results of the elections were: 23 votes for Plekhanov, 22 for Martov, 20 for Lenin and three for Koltsov.*

*Plekhanov, Martov and Lenin were thus elected editors.*

*Martov:* Since, despite my statement that I declined to be a candidate, I have nevertheless been elected, I must state that I decline the honour that has been offered me. Once again I say that I cannot assume responsibility for the policy of a group of three persons who, in accordance with the rules adopted, are to exercise decisive influence on the course of events in Russia. I do not want to be the 'third man' in an institution to which the CC will be a mere appendage, and the point that was inserted in the rules about unanimity in co-option removes all hope of broadening this narrow composition. In practice, all power in the Party is being handed over to two persons, and I think too little of the title of editor to agree to sit with them as third man.

*Chairman:* In that case, the next candidate in line is Koltsov.

*Koltsov:* I first proposed that the old editorial board be retained in its entirety, and that is what I still advocate. As regards my own position, I consider myself not competent to edit the central organ of the Party, and so decline to accept the post of editor.

*Lyadov:* I propose that the two elected editors co-opt the third.

*Deutsch* mentioned the decision by the congress according to which three editors should be elected.

*Lyadov* withdrew his proposal.

*Dyedov* also made a proposal, but quickly withdrew it, after which *Pavlovich* made a proposal.

*Gusev:* I have a proposal to make which is like *Pavlovich's*, but worded a little differently.

*Tsaryov* proposed that one editor be elected, who should co-opt the rest of the board.

*Byelov:* Can Comrade Tsaryov's proposal be voted on, seeing that a similar proposal by Comrade Kostrov has already been rejected?

*Plekhanov:* In view of the altered conditions, Comrade Tsaryov's proposal does not exclude Comrade Popov's, that fresh elections be held. In case of another failure we shall have to vote on Comrade Tsaryov's proposal.

*Rusov:* It is objected that the two members of the editorial board whom we have elected cannot co-opt because they do not constitute a corporate body, but those who say this forget that co-option requires unanimity, and so whether or not they are a corporate body does not come into it here.

*Trotsky:* Rusov forgets that in the event that unanimity is not achieved, the question is to be referred to the Party Council, which can quash the decision of the board, and then the question is decided afresh, by simple majority of votes. Consequently, a complete board is not needed for further co-option to the post of editor.

*Lange:* The previous editorial board also had an even number of members.

*Byelov:* The comrade chairman has explained that a decision which the congress decided at one moment can be reconsidered by it at another moment. I think that the present moment is one when we should raise again the question of endorsing the editorial board as a whole, since I am convinced that only if this question is settled affirmatively shall we dissipate the impossible atmosphere which has been created here. I am presenting a written resolution to the Bureau and I request that it be put to the vote.

*Plekhanov* suggested that Comrade Byelov ask the four members of the editorial board who had been rejected whether they were agreeable to fresh elections.

*Deutsch:* Plekhanov's proposal is not consistent. After all, the two editors who were elected were not asked whether they agreed to co-option.

*Chairman:* Two proposals have been put forward which the congress has previously rejected. I put to the vote the question whether it is permissible to vote on these proposals.

*The majority, by 22 to 19, with three abstentions, declared against*

*allowing Byelov's proposal to be voted on, and by 22 to 21, with one abstentions, took the same decision regarding Tsaryov's proposal.*

*Popov's proposal (for the third editor to be elected) was rejected by 22 to 21, with one abstention, and Pavlovich's proposal (for the third editor to be co-opted by the two elected ones) was adopted by 24 to 10, with 10 abstentions.*

*Trotsky (on the voting):* Comrade Lenin described to us very eloquently the difficult situation in which the four members of the Party Council would find themselves if they were not in a position to invite a fifth to join them. In order not to leave Comrades Lenin and Plekhanov in that difficult situation which he described so eloquently, I abstained from voting.

*Rusov* proposed to proceed to the election of the CC.

*Martov:* We cannot carry out an election by secret ballot without having asked whether a particular candidate agrees to join the board. Besides, candidates who are absent may, at the time of election, owing to the activities of the police in Russia, prove to be withdrawn from circulation or, as a result, may abandon work in the CC. We should thus find we had elected only fragments of the Party's highest institutions. In view of this, I propose the following. (*See note.*★)

*Lyadov:* I protest strongly, for security reasons, against the reading of lists of candidates.

*Rusov:* I am amazed at Comrade Martov's argument. The members of the CC elected here may be arrested this very day and in that case we should find ourselves in exactly the same situation that Comrade Martov has described. He knows that the comrades from the Bund, the members of the CC of the Bund remain unknown — even their number is not known. We need to follow the example of that organisation, which has had much experience in security matters. I reiterate my own proposal and ask that the ballots be handed to the chairman.

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★ Martov's resolution: 'Elections for the Central Committee to be carried out as follows. Lists of three candidates to be submitted to the Bureau, signed by no fewer than six sponsors. Not later than two sessions after the reading of these lists, voting to take place. Voting to be for complete lists and not for individuals. Decision to be by absolute majority. If no absolute majority is obtained, a second ballot to be held, to decide between the two lists which received the largest number of votes. The result of this second ballot to be accepted as final.'

If you don't trust the chairman, let somebody else be chosen, though I don't suppose you will do this.

*Plekhanov:* Comrade Martov's proposal cannot even be discussed, since it does not conform to the requirements of security. Comrade Martov mentioned the difficult situation in which the editorial board has been placed. I hope, however, that the RSDLP is not yet bereft of literary forces.

*Martov (on a point of order):* I heard the chairman say that my proposal cannot even be discussed. Is that his personal opinion, or that of the Bureau?

*Plekhanov:* That is my personal opinion.

*Trotsky:* I think that Comrade Martov's proposal which the chairman said could not even be discussed, and which he proceeded to discuss, is the only acceptable one. I think that we cannot form a CC without election by lists. Otherwise combinations could occur here that would make the CC ineffectual.

*Martov:* To imitate does not mean to ape. While pursuing the same aim as the Bund, we can nevertheless draw up preliminary lists. Only the names of the candidates would be announced: which if they were elected would remain unknown. We have elected an ineffectual editorial board. Conditions in Russia are such that the Central Committee may find itself with only one member, or even none. According to the Party rules, the CC and the central organ send two members each to the Party Council. If, after these elections, we are left without a CC, then our two editors will have, together with the member of the Council elected by the congress, to appoint a new CC.

*Yegorov:* I am exceedingly surprised to hear reference to principles again being made in the debate. I think it is clear to everyone that during the last few days the debate has not revolved around any question of principle, but exclusively around ensuring or preventing the inclusion of one or other person in the central institutions. Let us acknowledge that principles have long since been lost sight of at this congress, and call things by their right names. [*General laughter.*]  
*Muravyov:* 'I request to have it recorded in the minutes that Comrade Martov smiled.' What is the issue before us? The issue is, does the congress want to put the task of organisation and conduct of all Party work into the hands of the two elected persons, or doesn't it? That is

the question before the congress. It may happen that the CC will not agree to enter into the combination which has been brought about by the new state of affairs, and in that event the editorial board of the Central Organ will form the Party Council, compose the CC and be the omnipotent ruler of the Party's fate. The congress has to decide whether it will confide the entire fate of the Party to these two persons. This question is so important that arguments about security cannot figure here: when what is at stake is the Party's life we can't talk about security. But the question of security is redundant here also because the 'compact majority' of 24 votes, voting as one man, at a signal from their leader, knows and will know the whole composition of the CC. It would be unjust to the minority to put them in an inferior position. However, I am against Comrade Martov's proposal, because I have not yet lost my principles, and I consider voting by lists to be a restriction on individual freedom in elections.

*Rusov:* Comrades Yegorov and Martov claim to possess powers of clairvoyance, but all the rest of us are also serious in our way of looking at matters. The question of the election of the CC is one that concerns all. Whether we elect individuals or whole lists, what is involved is in either case an idea regarding the effectual character of the CC. According to Comrade Martov's proposal, instead of a single person, nine persons will be known. I don't know where Comrade Martov gets his certainty that there will be only three lists. Many more lists than that may be presented, and at the congress there will be revealed not just nine but a much larger number of active revolutionaries working in Russia. That I regard as very bad security.

*Trotsky:* Comrade Rusov has not understood the simple practical considerations that I referred to. To elect otherwise than by lists is possible only when among the majority of the delegates an unofficial, and, of course, fully admissible, agreement has been arrived at as to the combination of candidates in the CC. But since such an agreement has been made it would be hypocritical to conceal it, and hypocrisy is, of course, something worse than that clairvoyance of which Comrade Rusov spoke. As for what Comrade Plekhanov said about the RSDLP not being short of literary forces, so that we should have no fear regarding the fate of the editorial board, that was merely a ceremonial phrase in a certain pseudo-classical style, and should be treated as such.

*Lenin:* We have been reproached with forming a compact majority.

There is nothing bad about that. Since a compact majority has been formed here, the question whether the CC to be elected will be effectual has already been settled. There can be no question of accidents. The guarantee is complete. The elections cannot be postponed. Very little time is left. Comrade Martov's proposal that the elections be put off is unjustified. I support Comrade Rusov's proposal.

*The proposal to close the discussion was passed, with 24 votes.*

Martov proposed that, for voting, his resolution be split into two parts: (1) the whole proposal about voting procedure, except the proposal for voting by lists, and (2) the proposal for voting by lists.

*Martov's proposal was rejected by 22 votes to 17, with five abstentions.*

Fomin moved a resolution to elect three comrades to count the votes.

*This proposal was rejected by 23 to 15.*

*Rusov's resolution\* was voted on and passed by 24 to 6, with 14 abstentions.*

Popov (as a statement): As a rumour has reached me that some comrades want to elect me to the CC, I must say this. I am convinced that given the conditions in which the elections are now being held, the CC will turn out to be a completely ineffectual body. Therefore I ask the comrades not to elect me.

*The elections to the CC, by secret ballot, then took place, and afterwards Comrade Sorokin was given the floor to make his personal observation.*

Sorokin (personal observation): I was obliged by exceptional circumstances to refer to a private conversation. As a result of statements by some speakers, and, especially, of interjections, to the effect that the plan for the agenda had been drawn up by only one of the editors, an incorrect impression was given regarding the intentions of the author of this plan in including the item about the election of the editorial board. It was only then that I decided to refer to my conversation with Comrade Martov, from which I learnt that the agenda in question had been approved by him and the other editors. By doing this I merely wished to show that there was no malicious intent on Comrade Lenin's part in this matter.

*This session was closed.*

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\* Rusov's resolution: 'The chairman is to determine the results of the voting and to announce to the congress the name of only one member of the CC.'

## Thirty-second Session

*(Present: 36 delegates with 44 mandates and  
11 with consultative voice.)*

*Chairman:* Before announcing the results of the elections to the CC I wish, in accordance with a request from Comrade Trotsky, to ask the congress to state whether it wishes to have the number of votes announced.

*Fomin:* I think this question is easily answered. It was decided, for security reasons, that only one of the persons elected to the CC should be named. From the security point of view there are no grounds for not announcing the number of votes cast for each delegate.

*The Chairman* read a proposal by Comrade Pavlovich: 'The congress does not require the number of votes to be announced.'

*Pavlovich* argued as follows in favour of his proposal. The 'compact minority' wishes, by publishing the number of votes cast for each delegate, to make public thereby the relations established at the end of the congress between the minority and the majority. When Comrade Fomin advocated publishing the results he gave no reason why he wants this. He said that there is no reason why they should not be announced, but at the same time he offered no grounds for announcing them. I am not going to speculate here about the purposes for which this minority wishes, perhaps, to use the voting figures . . . This is my personal opinion.

*Trotsky:* I did not suppose that Comrade Pavlovich would misunderstand. As for Comrade Pavlovich's reasons, I leave it to his conscience to judge them. This idea is unworthy of that compact majority which Comrade Pavlovich is defending. As for the fear that the CC would lose by having the votes cast announced, that is unworthy of the

CC. I hope that it is above such considerations and will brush aside such defenders as Comrade Pavlovich. The congress has the right to demand to know the results of its own voting.

*Martov:* I agree with what Comrade Trotsky has said. I must add that the Bureau must have agreed with Comrade Pavlovich's proposal. We have heard this proposal coming not only from the compact majority but also from a representative of the Bureau. But if Comrade Pavlovich's understanding is not of the highest order, the Bureau ought not to agree with him. I propose an appeal to the congress.

*Pavlovich:* I repeat that I was speaking for myself. Comrade Fomin did not explain why he favours announcement. Comrade Trotsky speculates and, on the same basis, I too have the right to speculate. I do not understand on what grounds announcement is being asked for.

*The Chairman* read the following statement which had been handed to the Bureau: 'In view of the conditions under which the elections to the CC were held, the delegates of the following organisations represented at the congress did not take part in them: (1) *Iskra* organisation, two mandates (delegate, Martov);<sup>1</sup> (2) Crimean Association, 2 mandates (delegate, Panin); (3) Nikolayev Committee, 2 mandates (delegate, Makhov); (4) Siberian Association, 2 mandates (delegates, Posadovsky and Trotsky); (5) 'Emancipation of Labour' Group, one of two mandates (delegate, Deutsch); (6) Ufa Committee, one of the two mandates (delegate, Fomin); (7) social-Democratic Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, 2 mandates (delegate, Lvov); (8) Odessa Committee, one of the two mandates (delegate, Kostich); (9) Don Committee, one of the two mandates (delegate, Tsaryov); (10) *Yuzhny Rabochy* group, two mandates (delegates, Popov and Yegorov); (11) Kharkov Committee, two mandates (delegates Ivanov and Medvedev); (12) Moscow Committee, one mandate (delegate, Byelov).

'The following persons, invited to attend the congress with consultative voice, agree in principle with the above-named: V.I. Zasulich, P.B. Akselrod, Starover, members of the former Organising Committee Stein and Fischer, D. Koltsov, and Kostrov.'

*Brouckère:* I abstained because I refused to vote when the rules were voted on as a whole. I cannot therefore vote now.

*Plekhanov:* Among the signatures is that of Comrade Deutsch, as



delegate of the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group. I would ask him to mention alongside his signature that this is the signature of only *one* of the group's delegates.

*Deutsch:* I agree: that is what I wish, too.

*Chairman:* I propose that the congress decide whether the results of the voting should be announced.

*Comrade Pavlovich's resolution was voted on: 22 votes were cast for it and 22 against.*

*Trotsky:* Let me recall the resolution which the congress adopted that, in cases when an equal number of votes are cast 'for' and 'against', the resolution is to be considered rejected.

*Yegorov:* Comrade Pavlovich's proposal restricts the competence of the congress. The congress is sovereign and must know everything about what it was decided, excepting only whatever it has specially excepted. Comrade Pavlovich's proposal restricts the rights of the congress, and there can be no question of such restriction.

*The Chairman read the results of the voting.* Of the 24 votes cast, 24 were cast for the three comrades who were elected to the CC. Of these three, I name, with his agreement, Comrade Glebov. [*Applause.*]<sup>2</sup>

*Fomin:* Let me point out that 20 of the 44 delegates abstained from voting.

*Lenin:* Let us proceed to elect the fifth member of the Party Council.

*Rusov:* I propose that we vote by secret ballot and that the name of the person elected be announced.<sup>3</sup>

*Martov:* I don't understand why Comrade Rusov thinks it appropriate to announce the name of the fifth member of the Council. If we are observing security regarding the names of the members of the CC it would be more consistent to maintain the same procedure where the name of the fifth member of the Council is concerned.

*Rusov:* I have nothing against that.

*Lyadov:* We decided to observe security regarding the names of the members of the CC because they have to live and work in Russia, whereas the fifth member of the Party Council, by virtue of his

function, has to live abroad. Hence it is clear that there is no security reason for concealing his identity.

*Trotsky:* The Party Council is not doomed to exile in perpetuity. Comrade Lyadov's wish is not substantiated.<sup>4</sup>

*Martov:* Comrade Lyadov said that the question of the fifth member had already been decided. [*Protest.*]

*Yegorov:* Since the congress is electing a person who is unknown to it, and since we do not know whether he agrees, I do not know how we are to continue with the election if the first person elected refuses to accept.

*Lenin:* The congress will decide this question only in principle. If this is not possible, we have nothing against announcing the names of those who have refused to accept.

*Kostich* asked if the number of votes could be announced.

*Lenin:* That will be seen from the decision of the Bureau of the congress.

*Comrade Rusov's proposal* ('not to announce the name of the fifth member') *was voted on and adopted by 22 to 21, with one abstention.*

*Kostrov's proposal* ('to announce the name of the fifth member if he is living abroad') *was rejected by 22 to 22.*

*Orlov* proposed that Comrade Lenin be elected to count the votes.

*Plekhanov* asked that he be not elected for this task.

*Popov* asked Comrade Plekhanov to say why he was refusing election.

*Plekhanov:* I did not refuse, I merely asked that I be not elected.

*A secret vote was then taken: 18 votes were cast for Lenin, two for Pavlovich, two for Plekhanov, and one for Fomin: 21 delegates refused to vote.*

*The election of the fifth member of the Council was then held. Lenin, announcing the result of this election, said: 'Of the 24 votes cast, 20 were cast for one person, two for another, and two were blank.'*<sup>5</sup>

*Popov:* Is the Bureau certain that the decision of the congress is valid and in order when half the delegates refused to vote?

*Lenin:* I ask that it be noted that a section of the congress abstained, but did not refuse to vote.

*The Chairman:* When a similar question was raised by Comrades Martynov and Akimov, I explained to them, with the approval of the congress generally, that practice knows of only three ways of participating in a vote: for, against and abstention. No fourth way is known, and it does not exist. The Bureau remains firm in this opinion.

*Martov:* Comrade Popov is mistaken. The matter does indeed stand as the Bureau has put it. Legally, of course, our refusal to vote has the same significance as abstention, but because of the secrecy of the voting, in this instance we were obliged to choose a special way of abstaining. As regards the validity of the congress's decision, that requires an absolute majority of those voting. This majority was obtained, and so the decisions of the congress are valid.

*It was decided that the next session should be devoted to reading the minutes, and that the comrades from the Bund and Comrades Akimov and Martynov should be invited to attend, as they had requested.*

*The session was closed.<sup>6</sup>*

## Thirty-third session

*(Present: 38 delegates with 46 mandates and  
11 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The minutes of the 28th and 26th sessions were read and, after a few corrections, confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 17th session were read. Comrade Martynov noted that in these minutes his speech was described as 'long'. 'A secretary,' said Comrade Martynov, 'is not a newspaper reporter, and therefore his comments ought not to appear in the minutes.' After the corresponding correction had been made, the minutes were adopted. The second part of the minutes of the 28th session was also read and confirmed.*

*The session was closed.*

## Thirty-fourth session

*(Present: 38 delegates with 46 mandates and  
11 with consultative voice.)*

*The minutes of the 14th session were read and, after some minor corrections, confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 10th session were read.*

*Gorin made a correction to his speech.*

*Trotsky* asked that Comrade Pavlovich's speech be read a second time, as it seemed to him meaningless in the form in which it had been read. He asked whether this was the speech as written or as handed in, and asked that his question be recorded in the minutes.

*Posadovsky:* In view of the fact that a long time has passed since the session the minutes of which we have now heard, it is hard to remember today whether a particular phrase was used by a particular speaker. But I am sure that if Comrade Pavlovich had actually delivered his speech in the form in which it has now been read to us, I could not but have noticed the phrase about the 'operation' of the future Party organ, since this phrase is so *cynical*. I affirm, therefore, that it was not spoken in that form. I ask that this be recorded in the minutes.

*Osipov* said that he had checked Comrade Pavlovich's speech and it corresponded to the note taken.

*Martov* said that he did not remember the phrase about the 'operation' which might be carried out on the Party organ being uttered.

*Pavlovich:* I handed my speech in immediately after delivering it, as I request the secretary to recall. I was replying to Comrade Akimov, who did not understand what was meant by 'choosing a central organ'.

Comrade Akimov had asked whether this implied the complicated work which had to be performed in organising editorial activity. From this it is clear that if Comrade Posadovsky's thoughts run in the direction of a medical operation, that's his affair. I used this word in the business, commercial, technical sense, however you prefer to put it, and not at all in the medical sense.

*Lyadov* said that he had been secretary for the 10th session and remembered that Comrade Pavlovich had made his speech on that day.

*Makhov*: I remember that Comrade Pavlovich did indeed speak about an operation, but this related to Comrade Akimov, and we did not know what was meant by others who wanted to effect an operation, because we were not paying attention to this point.

*Gusev* said that he remembered Comrade Pavlovich's speech quite clearly and it had been correctly reported in the minutes.

*Trotsky* said that he had not expressed any doubt but merely asked for information. He reminded the presidium that Gorin's correction had not been read.

*The Chairman (Plekhanov)* said that the presidium knew what its responsibilities were.

*Osipov* read Gorin's correction.

*Martov* asked that it be recorded in the minutes that, after Pavlovich's explanation, he remained doubtful as to exactly what the speech written by Pavlovich had contained.

*The chairman* said that he was not clear as to whether members of the congress had the right to make such observations. Since neither the Bureau nor the congress were present that day in full complement, it would be better to hold the matter over till the next day.

*Pavlovich*: Every statement must conclude with some juridical act. I propose, therefore, we take this way out of the incident we are discussing, namely, that we do not confirm these minutes, if that is the will of the congress, until I have supplied Comrade Martov with information sufficient to convince him.

*Gorin* asked that it be entered in the minutes that Comrade Trotsky had expressed doubt concerning his correction.

*Trotsky* denied this, saying that he had made use of his right as a member of the congress to check and confirm the minutes.

*Gorin* reaffirmed his statement: *Trotsky* had been able to put forward his demand after the Bureau itself had failed to fulfil its obligations.

*Fomin* clarified this incident by saying that the secretary, after receiving the correction, had omitted to read it out, and declared that the reading of the minutes was incomplete.

*Osipov* asked that it be recorded in the minutes that *Pavlovich's* speech had been checked by him.

*Pavlovich* handed over the conduct of the discussion to Comrade *Plekhanov*. He asked that it be recorded in the minutes that throughout his period as chairman of the congress that day he had seen to it that corrections were read, and so he considered that Comrade *Trotsky's* inquiry regarding *Gorin's* correction was un-called-for.

*Trotsky*: The incident was closed with the chairman's explanation and the recording in the minutes of all the statements made. We had already gone over to other matters, when one of the members of the presidium had what I will call the tactlessness to revive the incident by describing my inquiry as out of place.

*The minutes of the 10th session were confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 23rd session were then read.*

*Plekhanov*: I have written down here a phrase from Comrade *Trotsky's* speech: 'opportunism is engendered by the objective conditions of the development of the proletariat'. I should like this phrase, which was omitted in the minutes, to be retained.

*Trotsky*: I deny that I used such a phrase in my speech. What I said was: 'In my view, opportunism is determined by deeper causes than one or another clause in the rules: no, it is brought about by the relative level of development of bourgeois democracy and of the proletariat, by the influence of the former upon the latter, and by other complex causes.'

*Plekhanov* did not deny that the phrase *Trotsky* had just mentioned had been spoken, but he declared that *Trotsky* had also spoken the

phrase which he had read out. In confirmation of his statement, he referred to Comrade Akimov, who, after Trotsky had spoken, said that he fully agreed with Trotsky.

*Akimov* said that though he certainly remembered agreeing with Trotsky, he did not remember those words.

*Martynov* confirmed that Comrade Trotsky had spoken only the words which he had quoted, and had not used the phrase ascribed to him by Comrade Plekhanov.

*Plekhanov* drew Comrade Martynov's attention to the point that the meaning of the phrase ascribed by him to Comrade Trotsky was absolutely identical with the meaning of the explanation given by Comrade Trotsky.

*Martov*: Karsky, Koltsov and I confirm that Comrade Trotsky did not utter the phrase of which Comrade Plekhanov speaks.

*Akimov*: I can state that if Comrade Trotsky had uttered such a phrase, I could not have said that I agreed with him.

*Lyadov*: I ask that it be recorded in the minutes that the phrase Comrade Trotsky read out just now was omitted from the report of his speech.

*Trotsky*: In the speech I handed in I left out much more than that. I left out, for example, a criticism of Comrade Plekhanov's phrase about fourth-level agents. I don't regard it as so important that everything I said should be immortalised. If Comrade Plekhanov thinks otherwise, I can insert these words, too, in the minutes. I declare that I did not use the phrase that has been attributed to me. I consider that the entire incident can be disposed of if Comrade Plekhanov's question and my answer are included in the minutes of today's session.

*The chairman (Plekhanov)* asked Trotsky to supply the Bureau with this phrase in writing.

*Trotsky* said that he was not obliged to do this. He gave his speech to the secretary.

*The incident was closed.*

*The chairman (Plekhanov)* asked the secretary to read out Trotsky's explanation.



*The secretary (Yegorov) said that the secretary was not obliged to read out his notes immediately. He would read them at the session at which the minutes were confirmed. After this, the minutes of the 23rd session were confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 24th, 25th, 16th and 33rd sessions were read and confirmed.*

*The session was closed.*

## Thirty-fifth Session

*(Present: 43 delegates — including the delegates of the Bund and the Union, to hear the minutes — with 51 mandates; and 11 with consultative voice)*

*At Lenin's suggestion the congress divided into two groups so as to speed up the confirmation of the minutes. A section of the delegates went into another room, these including the delegates of the Bund and the Union.*

*The minutes of the 34th session were read and confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 32nd session were read.*

*Fomin, Martov and some others protested against the use of the word 'abstained' (from voting), instead of 'refused' (to take part in the voting).*

*Martov said that it would have been abstention if they had handed in blank papers, as had in fact been done by one or two delegates. The refusal by the rest of the delegates to hand in papers at all was not abstention but refusal.*

*Karsky, Kostrov and Koltsov took the same view. Posadovsky confirmed, as a matter of fact, that some delegates had said that they were refusing to vote. Comrade Lyadov also confirmed this.*

*Lenin confirmed the fact [see the statements by Lyadov and Posadovsky] that some had actually said they were refusing to vote, and not abstaining. From the juridical standpoint, however, for members of the congress who were present in the meeting-hall there were only three ways in which they could vote — for, against, and abstention — and he assigned failure to hand in voting papers to the last-mentioned category.*

*Gusev said that some delegates — who, exactly, they were, he did not remember — had abstained. He said that the statements of both*

sides could be entered in the minutes, and expressed surprise that an incident could be caused by such a trifle.

*Fomin* said that as many as 20 persons had refused to vote, and not abstained. He mentioned that, when the editorial board was elected, 20 persons had abstained. He supposed that these two forms of abstention should be distinguished. He asked that everything that happened be recorded in the minutes, without any sort of qualification of the facts.

*Posadovsky* agreed with this view.

*Yegorov* could not agree with Comrade Gusev that what had brought this question up was a mere trifle. As many as 20 had said 'I refuse to vote', and Comrade Brouckère had said 'I refused to vote'.

*Martov* asked that the incident be finished with quickly, saying that although, of course, the minority must submit to the majority, it nevertheless had the right to demand that the majority compile the minutes correctly.

*Lenin* asked the secretary to make the appropriate alteration in the minutes.

*Trotsky* proposed the following correction to Pavlovich's speech. 'Comrade Pavlovich said: "I am not going to seek out [to make suppositions about] the purposes for which the compact minority which has undoubtedly been formed here wished to use the figures of the voting." When Comrade Pavlovich said this, there was uproar in the hall, and Comrade Pavlovich added: "That is my subjective opinion." '

*Pavlovich* insisted on the wording given in the minutes.

*The minutes of the 32nd session were confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 31st session were read.*

*Martov*: Regarding the passage in Comrade Lenin's speech where he says that I attributed to him the plan for an editorial trio, I declare that I have no recollection of this passage. If I had heard it I would have protested against it. I ask that this be included in the minutes.

*Orlov* and *Gusev* confirmed that Comrade Lenin had said in his speech that the plan had been put to him by two of the editors of *Iskra*.

*Lenin* asked that this be included in the minutes.

*Lenin*: Agreeing with the correction made by Comrades Kostich and Panin,\* I affirm that what I meant was that Comrade Martov considered it an insult for him to be included in the editorial trio without the rest of his comrades.

*Martov* proposed that the minutes include Gorin's proposal that the names of all the members of the CC be kept secret.

*Trotsky*: Lenin insists that he was not understood owing to interruptions. But he was being interrupted precisely because we understood him well. I ask that this be included in the minutes.

*Gusev* proposed that the minutes should mention that after Comrade Popov's statement that he did not wish to take part in the CC there was applause from all sides.

*Lenin* proposed that it be mentioned that among those applauding was Comrade Plekhanov.

*Martov* proposed that it be mentioned that Comrades Plekhanov and Lenin voted *against* the question of the editorial board being brought up again, and for the two elected editors to be given the right to co-opt the third.

*Makhov* proposed that it be entered in the minutes that, on the question of confirming the old editorial board (Byelov's proposal), Comrades Plekhanov and Lenin at first abstained, and then, when the voting went in favour of the proposal, and a second vote was taken, they participated in this, voting *against*. Also, he wanted it mentioned that Martov abstained on both occasions.

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\* The beginning of Lenin's speech [see Session 31] went like this, according to the manuscript: 'Martov's speech was so strange that I find myself obliged to protest emphatically against the way he presented the question. Let me recall, in the first place, that Martov's protest against the election of the editorial board, his refusal and that of his comrades to participate in the editorial board which is to be elected, is in crying contradiction to what we all said (Martov included) when *Iskra* was recognised as the Party organ. The objection was then put forward that such recognition was pointless, since one cannot endorse a mere title without endorsing an editorial board, and Comrade Martov himself explained to the objectors that *this was not true*, that it was a certain political trend that was being endorsed, that the composition of the editorial board was not being predetermined in any way and that the election of the editors would come up later, under point 18 of our agenda. Comrade Martov therefore had *no right whatever* to talk now about the recognition of *Iskra* being a limited one.'

*Panin* mentioned that when a vote was taken on whether to allow Comrade Martov to give an explanation to the congress, only Comrade Plekhanov voted *against*.

*Plekhanov* stated on behalf of the Bureau that he regarded it as incorrect and contrary to standing orders to publish the results of non-roll-call votes and to make investigations into these votes, but that he personally, and Lenin as well, assumed full moral responsibility for what he had done, and therefore made no objection, for his part, to publication of the way he had voted.

*The session was closed.*

## Thirty-sixth session

*(Present: 36 delegates with 44 mandates, and  
11 persons with consultative voice.)*

*The minutes of the 30th session were read.*

*Deutsch:* In the minutes which have been read, where Comrade Rusov's speech is quoted, he says that 'an old revolutionary like Deutsch saw lack of confidence in the members of the editorial board in the fact that the congress wanted to subject them to election'. However, as can be seen from these same minutes, I did not take part in the discussion, and refrained from speaking. Comrade Rusov can have formed a conclusion as to my attitude to his proposal that three members of the board be elected only from my interjections. But that does not signify, either, since when I interjected I spoke not of 'lack of confidence' but of something more than that — of the *criminality* of his proposal, because bringing forward such a proposal seemed to me to be committing a crime against the future of our movement. I foresaw that Comrade Rusov's proposal would lead to the very consequences that have now ensued, namely, to the departure from the editorial board of the majority of its members. Comrade Sorokin is also wrong when he alleges that I said we should 'nail to the pillory those who voted for Rusov's proposal'. I said nothing like that.

*Rusov:* What was read out here was what I actually said. Therefore I do not find it possible to alter the contents of my speech. Deutsch's observation can be included in the minutes of today's session.

*Deutsch:* That's all I want.

*Sorokin:* My comments did not refer to Deutsch's words but to his conduct. Comrade Deutsch stood up and said: 'Let us see who is daring.'

*Deutsch:* I did not say 'Who is daring'. I said: 'I am interested to see who the persons are who dare to support such a criminal proposal as the election of a board of three.' The point here was not cowardice, gentlemen, but your short-sightedness, your lack of foresight.

*Gusev:* I do not insist on the exactitude of the speech I presented; perhaps it is not photographically accurate, since I was ill at the time, and so I request the comrades, if it is inaccurate, to help me to restore it to its authentic form.

*Kostrov:* I wanted to ask Gusev about something, but the statement he has now made puts me in a difficult position. One would like to know which is to be regarded as more correct: the extract which the secretary began reading, or Comrade Gusev's own manuscript, in which he is dealing with the functionaries of the editorial board.

*Gusev:* If any of the comrades will confirm that I used the words 'functionaries' and not 'administration', I agree to correct this. I don't believe Kostrov on his own.

*Kostrov:* I am not speaking from memory, but about the papers in the possession of the secretary.

*Trotsky:* Comrade Pavlovich's speech has been incorrectly compiled. Some very important expressions are missing. In the first place he said, and this phrase is not here, that 'the corporate body of *Iskra*, thanks to great efforts, accomplished something respectable, so this is not "thanks to" but "in spite of".' Then, later: 'by putting forward the plan for a trio, the authors declared that these were the conditions and this the combination in which alone they agreed to work.'

*Pavlovich:* How Comrade Trotsky construes me is of no interest to me, but it is important to me that I was thinking when I spoke. I said that *in spite of* the imperfect organisation of the editorial board, it had achieved great results. I am not afraid of being suspected and accused of ill-will towards *Iskra*. I was merely stressing that we have not only the right but also the duty to give it the forms suitable for its work.

*Deutsch, Popov and Panin* confirmed what Trotsky had said.

*Pavlovich:* I insist that no changes be made in the extract from my speech which alter the meaning of this extract. These changes can be included in the minutes.

*Deutsch:* I do not understand how Comrade Pavlovich can repudiate words which he undoubtedly spoke, and which were heard by 20 persons.

*Bekov:* And which 20 persons did not hear.

*Pavlovich* asked that this be entered in the minutes.

*Karsky:* It may be that those 20 did not hear because they were not authorised to.

*Chairman (Plekhanov):* Your remarks do not comply with the dignity of the congress and I cannot allow them.

*Bekov:* I do not understand how we can reckon up how many persons heard and how many did not. I say that it is not possible to draw from Comrade Pavlovich's speech such a conclusion as follows from Trotsky's correction, and so I consider that Trotsky's correction is wrong.

*Chairman (Plekhanov):* I do not regard it as possible to turn this congress session into a session of a court. It is unworthy of the congress. Corrections are being proposed and evidence for them produced.

*Pavlovich:* I welcome the Comrade Chairman's words, reminding some comrades that we are at a congress and not a judicial investigation. However, I do not share his optimism that this reminder is unnecessary. I ask Comrade Karsky when it was that he managed to collect such precise figures (that 20 persons heard). Kostrov is sure that the extract from my speech does not contain the phrase he remembered. To him and to Comrade Trotsky I would recommend that in that case they reconstruct the whole of my speech, when, perhaps, those particular phrases will acquire the meaning which I intended to give them. Everyone knows that a phrase torn out of its context can be interpreted in any way you like. I think it is clear to everyone that they are here trying to foist on me a tendency which I could never possess.

*Trotsky:* In his speech Muravyov said: 'We know who is more and who is less susceptible to such dissonances.' I consider this correction very important, since it was this that led to Comrade Martov and the whole editorial board of *Iskra* leaving the hall.



*Panin:* What was said was: 'The dissonances which existed in the editorial board have been revealed at the congress: the majority are already clear as to who is inclined to dissonances.'

*Muravyov:* I want to bring it to the notice of the congress that the renderings of what I said which were given by Comrades Trotsky and Panin are far from identical in meaning and bear even less resemblance to my actual words. Since what is at issue here is my words alone, I will permit myself to quote two versions of these words which were given in private conversation with persons very closely affected by the incident in question. One of them said that I had said, literally, the following: 'and we (i.e., the majority at the congress) know *who* causes them (i.e., the "dissonances").' Another person said, no less categorically, that what I had said was: 'we *know how* they are caused'. I invite the comrade delegates to try and reconcile these four versions so as to get something common from them which coincides with what I say I said. I meant precisely what I have written. I pointed to the fact that 'dissonances' among the editors existed and that these were obvious to the majority at the congress. But I did not say at all that it was a question of 'dissonances' of a personal order. I state this categorically, because — and I say this frankly — I have too much respect for the comrades of the editorial board to engage in analysis of that sort of 'dissonance'. I was referring to the 'dissonances' which had been revealed in the congress debates on various points, dissonances over principle, the existence of which is now, unfortunately, a fact that nobody will deny. That is why I insisted that my formulation conveys precisely the sense and content of what I said.

*Pavlovich:* I understood Muravyov as saying that he did not deny the possibility of dissonances in any corporate body.

*Martov* agreed with the statement that there ought not to be any judicial investigations. The explanation given by Muravyov, clarifying what exactly he wanted to convey by the phrase he used, will, of course, appear in the minutes, and the incident will thereby be closed.

*Muravyov:* I again emphasise the point that four such different interpretations exist of those words of mine which I have quoted. On the basis of this fact I affirm that what I said about dissonances corresponds completely with the version given by me.

*The minutes of the 29th session were read and confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 27th session (half of it) were read and confirmed.*

*The minutes of the 35th session were read and confirmed.*

*Lenin:* It remains to be decided in the minutes of which session to include the names of those who took part in one way or another in the non-roll-call-votes.

*Panin:* Since Plekhanov's applause was, on Lenin's insistence, included in the minutes of the session when this happened, then the votes too should be recorded.

*Martov* also urged that either both be included or neither.

*Lenin* agreed with Martov that both should be included in the minutes of the last session.

*The corrected Party rules were read and finally approved.*

*One of the amendments to the third article of the programme which had been adopted was read and approved.*

*The congress proceeded to the last item of the agenda: 'Procedure for publishing the decisions of the congress.' \**

*Yegorov:* In order to avoid any reproaches, I advocate that we elect to the commission for publishing the minutes representatives of both of the halves into which the congress has divided.

*Lyadov* proposed that the commission be composed of Deutsch, Fomin and Gorin.

*Yegorov's resolution was adopted.†*

*Those elected to the commission were:* Starover, Koltsov and Gorin.

*The session was closed.*

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\* Part of the discussion on this point and some of the resolutions adopted have not been published, for reasons of security. [Note by the commission.]

† Yegorov's resolution: 'A special commission for publishing the minutes to be elected, to consist of representatives of both halves of the congress.'

## Thirty-seventh Session<sup>1</sup>

*(Present: 36 delegates with 44 mandates and  
11 persons with consultative voice)*

*Fomin* read letters from the delegates of the Bund and also their declaration [see Appendix X].

*A resolution regarding this declaration was adopted.*

*Yegorov* made the following proposal: 'I suggest that the Bund be allowed to use the minutes, subject to such restrictions as the commission finds it possible to make.'

*Martov* proposed the following amendment: 'The Bund can be given permission to use the minutes only after the publication of those sections which the commission decides to make public, and only that part of the proceedings when the Bund delegation were present at the congress. Use of minutes by the Bund presupposes an obligation on their part not to publish anything that is not going to be published by the RSDLP.'

*Yegorov's proposal and Martov's amendment were adopted.*

*A resolution on the Bund was adopted.\**

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\* *Martov's* resolution: 'Considering (a) that the second congress of the RSDLP set itself the aim of uniting into a single integrated Party all the Social-Democrats who are active in Russia; (b) that, in particular, one of its tasks was to establish the closest ties between the General Jewish Workers' Union and the other sections of our Party; (c) that, despite the Bund's recognition of the general Party programme, such unification could not be realised owing to the difference of principle on the question of the Bund's place in the Party, and appreciating the very serious loss to the cause of achieving unity which will inevitably be caused by the departure of the Bund from the Party — the second congress of the RSDLP expresses its most profound regret, and at the same time its firm confidence that with the future growth of the movement these differences will disappear and that that complete merging of the proletariat of all nationalities in a single

*Lenin and Plekhanov moved a resolution on the organ for the sectaries.\**

*Yegorov:* Since discussion is not possible now, I propose that no resolution be tabled for entrusting the publication of Social-Democratic literature to a single person.

*Lenin:* Bonch-Bruyevich is not an unknown person, he is a member of the League. It is possible to table a resolution since the organ will be published by way of an experiment and under the control of the Central Organ and the CC.

*Yegorov:* I ask that it be recorded in the minutes that when the question of *Yuzhny Rabochy* was discussed we were not asked at whose expense *Yuzhny Rabochy* was to be published. The consideration that publication of *Yuzhny Rabochy* could do no harm to the common cause was thought insufficient. Now Comrade Lenin regards that consideration as sufficient to justify accepting Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich's proposal. As for control by the Central Organ, I must say that we did not refuse to put ourselves under the control of the central organ, the CC and any other central institutions.

*Martov* proposed a change in the last part of the resolution moved by Plekhanov and Lenin.†

*Martov's amendment was adopted§ and then also the Lenin-Plekhanov*

RSDLP will take place which is needed in the interests of the struggle of the working class for emancipation.' *Popov, Ivanov, Yegorov, Medvedev, Byelov, Makhov, Tsaryov, Fomin, Lvov, Rusov, Lyadov, Gorsky, Muravyov, Bekov, Dyedov, Stepanov, Gusev, Yuzhin, Plekhanov.*

\* For discussion of each of the following resolutions two speakers were allowed 'for' and two 'against'.

† Resolution on the organ for the sectaries, moved by Lenin and Plekhanov: 'Considering that the sectarian movement in Russia is, in many of its manifestations, one of the democratic tendencies directed against the prevailing order of things, the second congress draws the attention of all Party members to work among the sectaries with a view of drawing them towards Social-Democracy. By way of an experiment, the congress authorises Comrade V. Bonch-Bruyevich to publish, under the control of the editorial board of the Central Organ, a popular paper to be called *Sredi Sektantov* ('Among the Sectaries'), and empowers the CC and the editorial board of the Central Organ to take the measures needed for the realisation of this publication and the establishment of all the conditions for it to function correctly.' *Lenin, Plekhanov, Dyedov, Gorsky, Osipov, Lyadov, Hertz, Stepanov, Muravyov, Lange, Gusev, Pavlovich.*

§ Martov's amendment: all the last part of the resolution, beginning with the words: 'By way of experiment' to be replaced by: 'The congress empowers the CC to deal with the proposal contained in Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich's report.'

*resolution, as so amended. Lenin's resolution on the Georgian and Armenian newspaper was discussed.\**

*Brouckère: Does the Caucasian Association exist?*

*Rusov: It exists, but has not yet been given formal structure: its rules are being worked out.*

*Martov proposed deleting from the resolution the word 'Party'.*

*Posadovsky: If this resolution restricts the rights of the CC it is harmful; if it does not place restrictions on the CC, it is unnecessary.*

*Karsky: An amendment is needed, since the Association has not been endorsed. [A clash with the chairman occurred here, as Karsky spoke against the resolution after being called upon to speak for it.]*

*Kostrov's proposal on this matter was adopted.*

*A resolution on giving testimony was discussed.†*

*Yegorov was against the argument included in the resolution, which he thought should be omitted.*

*Deutsch proposed deletion of the phrase 'cannot in any case worsen the position of the accused, and that such a tactic'.*

*Deutsch's proposal was adopted.*

*An amendment was adopted for replacing the words 'abstain from giving' by 'refuse to give'.*

*The resolution as a whole, as amended, was then adopted.*

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\* This resolution was not found in the minutes, and neither was Kostrov's proposal on the same subject. [Note by the commission.]

† Pavlovich's resolution on giving testimony under interrogation: 'Considering: (a) that any testimony given by revolutionaries when under interrogation by the gendarmerie serves, in the hands of the interrogators, regardless of the intentions of the revolutionaries, as the principal means of charging more people and bringing them under interrogation; and (b) that refusal to testify, if carried out on a wide scale [while it cannot in any case worsen the position of the accused, and that such a tactic] will markedly help in the revolutionary education of the proletariat, the second congress of the RSDLP recommends all Party members to abstain from giving any kind of testimony when interrogated by the gendarmerie.' *Pavlovich, Stepanov, Plekhanov, Rusov, Glebov, Osipov, Dyedov, Strakhov, Brouckère, Braun, Gorsky, Lyadov, Muraviov, Gusev, Kostich, Lvov.*

*The congress passed to discussing two resolutions about the liberals: (1) Starover's\* and (2) Plekhanov's.†*

*Martov:* I am for Starover's resolution and against that of Plekhanov and Lenin. The former puts the question on a businesslike basis, while at the same time bringing out our antagonism to the Liberals on principle. The latter, having given a correct formulation of our attitude on principle to the bourgeoisie, ends with a paltry conclusion that a particular writer should be exposed. Would this not be 'using a sledgehammer to kill a fly'? The congress of representatives of the Russian proletariat reducing their attitude to the liberal bourgeoisie to their attitude to a single writer!

*Plekhanov:* Our resolution has in view not *Osvobozhdenie* but a definite liberal trend of which *Osvobozhdenie* is the organ and not of any other trend. The attitude of the workers to this trend must be clear and definite. In Starover's resolution there is no statement of general principle and attention is mainly focused on a possible agreement, as though such an agreement were on the agenda, which is not yet the case.

*Kostrov:* The resolution must emphasise the difference between the

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\* Starover's resolution on the liberals: 'The RSDLP, the independent political party of the proletariat, proceeding from the proposition contained in its programme which proclaims that the Party "supports every oppositional and revolutionary movement directed against the social and political order prevailing in Russia", does not refuse to enter, and, should the need arise, will enter, through its central institutions, into temporary agreements with liberal or liberal-democratic trends; on condition, however, (a) that these trends clearly and unequivocally declare that in their struggle against the autocratic government they stand resolutely alongside the Russian Social-Democrats; (b) that they do not include in their programmes demands which run counter to the interests of the working class and of democracy generally, or obfuscating their consciousness, and (c) that they take as their battle-slogan: universal, equal, secret and direct suffrage.' *Starover, Trotsky, Stein, Koltsov, Martov, Fischer, Akselrod, Posadovsky, Panin, Braun, Orlov, Osipov.*

† Plekhanov's resolution on the liberals: 'Considering that Social-Democrats must support the bourgeoisie in so far as it is revolutionary or even merely oppositional in its struggle against Tsardom; that, therefore, Social-Democrats must welcome the awakening of political consciousness in the Russian bourgeoisie; but that, on the other hand, they are obliged to unmask before the proletariat the limited and inadequate character of the bourgeois liberation movement, wherever this limitedness and inadequacy shows itself, the second ordinary congress of the RSDLP insistently recommends to all comrades that, in their propaganda, they direct the attention of workers to the anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian character of the trend expressed in Mr P Struve's organ, *Osvobozhdenie*.' *Plekhanov, Lenin, Pavlovich, Gorsky, Bekov, Rusov, Muravyov, Lyadov, Gorin, Gusev, Stepanov, Sorokin, Orlov, Osipov, Braun.*

bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The name of Struve means nothing to the proletariat.

*Starover*: I think that at the present time it is important to lay down the conditions on which an agreement would be possible. Such an agreement is on the agenda. We have already given support to the student movement, and the question may arise of support for the Zemstvo-democratic movement.

*Lenin*: Starover's resolution will be misconstrued: the student movement and *Osvobozhdenie* are two quite different things. To take the same attitude to both would be harmful. Struve's name is all too well known, and the workers know it. Comrade Starover thinks that we need to give a definite directive; in my view what we need is to define an attitude on principle and on tactics.

*Kostrov's amendment to Plekhanov's resolution was rejected. Both resolutions (Starover's and Plekhanov's) were adopted. Akselrod's resolution on the Socialist-Revolutionaries was discussed.\**

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\* Akselrod's resolution on the Socialist-Revolutionaries: 'Considering: (a) that the interests of the Russian proletariat generally and of its liberation movement in particular require it to act, in the struggle against absolutism, as a completely independent political force; (b) that only activity aimed at uniting the proletariat into such a force possesses socialist revolutionary content in the struggle against absolutism; and considering, further: (c) that the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" oppose, in theory and in practice, the efforts of the Social-Democrats to weld the workers into an independent political party, and strive, on the contrary, to keep them as a politically amorphous mass capable only of serving as a tool of the liberal bourgeoisie — the congress declares that the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" are nothing but a bourgeois-democratic faction, towards whom Social-Democrats can in principle have an attitude no different than towards liberal representatives of the bourgeoisie in general. Considering, further, that the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" pursue their bourgeois tendencies under the flag of socialism and that, in addition, or, rather, for this reason, they are utterly bankrupt as a bourgeois-revolutionary faction, the congress regards their activity as detrimental not only to the political development of the proletariat but also to the overall democratic struggle against absolutism.

'For all these reasons, the congress condemns unconditionally any attempt to hide the principled and political significance of the difference between "Socialist-Revolutionaries" and their practical bankruptcy from the general democratic viewpoint.

'In the light of the above-mentioned considerations the congress does not regard as possible any more or less continual alliance between the Social Democrats and the "Socialist-Revolutionaries", even within the narrow framework of general-democratic tasks; but does not rule out the possibility of temporary agreements between them in those cases when the relation of forces and the character of the attacks being undertaken against absolutism make such agreement necessary. — *Akselrod, Fischer, Martov, Trotsky, Deutsch, Koltsov, Stein, Fomin, Starover, Karsky, Panin, Kostich, Popov, Posadovsky, Makhov.*'

*Yegorov:* We say in the programme that we must support all oppositional and revolutionary movements. In Russia two such movements exist: the Liberal one and the Socialist-Revolutionary one. It turns out that we look negatively upon both of these movements. What this comes to is that as soon as an oppositional movement assumes concrete form, we say: away with it! How are we to escape from this contradiction?

*Akselrod:* Yegorov's question actually embraces two questions: (a) how to reconcile in practice our principled attitude of hostility in general to all bourgeois oppositional and revolutionary factions with the tactical position of support for them in the struggle against reaction; and (b) how to reconcile the resolution I have moved against the 'Socialist-Revolutionary' Party with this tactical position in particular.

The first question is undoubtedly of very great importance for our Party. I expected that special attention would be given to it at our congress, and hoped that I should manage to deal thoroughly with this question here. Unfortunately, the congress has been left with no time for the discussion I had hoped for, and in the few minutes at my disposal I cannot deal with the question. I can only summarise, and then only in part, the conclusion I would have drawn if I had spoken specially on the question touched upon by Comrade Yegorov. This is the conclusion. Considering the political passivity of our liberal bourgeoisie there can as yet be no question of correct support for it, in the literal sense, by the RSDLP. At the present time, in order to 'support' it in practice we must systematically utilise the oppositional and revolutionary mood of the upper classes in the interests of the development of revolutionary initiative and political independence among the mass of the workers. This conclusion seems at first sight paradoxical. But this is only because I have expressed it in such a general way, without giving reasons or grounds for it.

As regards our attitude to the 'Socialist-Revolutionary' Party, this is directly determined by the circumstance that, while coming forward under the flag of socialism and competing with the Social-Democrats on the terrain of propaganda and agitation among the democratic intelligentsia and the proletariat, the 'Socialist-Revolutionary' party at the same time harms the cause of socialism and the liberation struggle against the autocracy. The revolutionary Narodnik movement strove to preserve Russia from capitalist



development. This endeavour was recognised to be utopian and even reactionary, and in practice the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' have renounced it. Its place has been taken, in the programme and activity of the Social-Democrats, by the striving to preserve the Russian proletariat from the intellectual and political tutelage of the bourgeois parties, through organising the active revolutionary sections of the proletariat, while still in the grip of absolutism, in an independent political party, through systematic development of class consciousness and political independence among the worker masses. Since the objective course of economic development has not enabled Russia to 'leap over' the capitalist phase directly into the realm of socialism, the Russian Socialists have been obliged to direct their forces to ensuring that the Russian proletariat at least 'leaps over' the phase of subordination to the ideological and political leadership of the bourgeois political parties, in order that from the very outset of its appearance on the historical arena this proletariat should stand forth as an independent revolutionary force, under its own banner, led by a party which has arisen and which acts as the representative of its class interests, grouping and concentrating in itself the most conscious and actively revolutionary elements of the proletariat. This is the practical idea which has called the Russian Social-Democratic movement into existence, which underlies its programme, and which determines the content and direction of its activity.

In the West the workers took part in the struggle against the feudal-monarchical order as a formless socio-political element, a general homogeneous mass, led by bourgeois-democratic revolutionaries. The result was that even long after the feudal-monarchical order had been destroyed, the advanced strata of the proletariat followed blindly the left factions of the bourgeoisie, which relied upon the glorious traditions of the epoch of the bourgeois revolutionary movements, strengthening their prestige by means of the traditions of the heroism and radical democratism of the revolutionaries of that period, from whom they traced their pedigree. The revolutionary ideologists of the proletariat had, therefore, to devote much labour and time to freeing even these strata from the political tutelage of the radical bourgeoisie. Only after this could a broad and all-sided struggle of the proletariat begin against our bourgeois society. Developing the political consciousness of our proletariat, organising it into an independent political party, trying to win for it the role of vanguard in the struggle against absolutism, we

thereby preserve it from the tutelage of the bourgeoisie, ensuring for it the possibility of exerting, in the interests of the exploited masses, a serious influence on the outcome of our present-day liberation movement, and bringing nearer the triumph of socialism over capitalism. Only in this way can we fill the revolutionary movement which is aimed directly against absolutism with real socialist content, only in this way will this movement become directly a phase or prologue of the liberation struggle of the proletariat, in the name of socialism, against the whole bourgeoisie. And yet all the activity of the 'Socialist-Revolutionary' party is aimed in precisely the opposite direction. Both theoretically and practically the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' try to hold back the development of political consciousness in the Russian proletariat, and in practice they are against raising it to the level of an independent and advanced revolutionary force in the struggle for freedom. On the contrary, they — unconsciously, of course — follow a path which inevitably leads to transforming the proletariat into a blind tool or political tail of the bourgeois parties. This is why the Social-Democrats cannot but treat them as a bourgeois faction.

But the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' are, at the same time, poor bourgeois revolutionaries. Wishing to remain 'socialists', if only in words, being unable to adapt their programme and tactics to the demands and requirements of the oppositional bourgeoisie, they are unable to become their leaders, as their radical wing, urging them forward and giving them support. Consequently, apart from rare specific instances, it is also not possible to speak seriously of practical support by the Social Democrats for the 'Socialist-Revolutionary' party as a bourgeois revolutionary party.

*Martov:* I will use the opportunity to reply to Yegorov's question, which came up already during our discussion of the programme, and was put to us on several occasions because of our controversy with the Liberals and the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries'. If we are to support 'every revolutionary and oppositional movement', how can we wage war on those parties which are trying to organise oppositional or revolutionary movements of other classes? The contradiction here is only apparent. In Western Europe too the growth of Social Democracy was accompanied by the decline of the bourgeois-democratic parties, partly under the influence of criticism by the Social-Democrats. But would it be true to say that Social-Democracy killed

the democratic movement? No, because it kills this or that party only in so far as it revolutionises the consciousness of its agents, and if this party, being incapable of development, tries to restrict, for the sake of narrow class interest, the range of its radicalism, then Social-Democracy draws into its ranks the former supporters of such a party. The Russian Social-Democratic movement cannot act otherwise. It supports every oppositional and revolutionary movement by criticising the limitations of the actually-existing oppositional parties, facing them with the choice of either advancing or else losing their influence over the awakened elements of society which Social-Democracy invites into its ranks.

*Plekhanov* proposed an amendment to *Akselrod's* resolution: to replace the last paragraph by the following [see note \*]. He justified this amendment by claiming that it made the conclusion sharper and more decisive.

*Akselrod*: I agree to accept *Plekhanov's* amendment, but I find his argument in support of it unfounded. It is strange to describe the conclusion of my resolution as not being 'decisive'. On the contrary, it rejects not merely 'union' with the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries' but also 'alliance', which is, as you know, permissible also between parties which are opposed to each other on questions of principle, and even between different states. Any tendencies towards union are condemned in the very preamble of the resolution. Nevertheless, I accept *Plekhanov's* amendment on stylistic grounds. The phrase comes out more elegantly than in my conclusion. Besides, it mentions the Central Committee, which did not exist when I drafted my resolution.

*Lenin* supported *Plekhanov's* amendment.

*Plekhanov's* amendment was adopted.

*Akselrod's* resolution, as amended, was adopted by all except for one abstention.

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\* *Plekhanov's* amendment: 'In the light of the above-mentioned considerations the congress decisively condemns any attempt at uniting the Social-Democrats with the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" and recognises as possible only partial agreements with them in particular instances of struggle against Tsardom, the conditions of such agreements to be subject to supervision by the Central Committee.'

*Martov's resolution on demonstrations was discussed.\**

*Kostrov* proposed an amendment on the ground that the idea of armed resistance was expressed very weakly in the resolution.

*Martov*: I regard Comrade *Kostrov's* amendment as unnecessary. In drafting the resolution I had in mind countering that view, so widespread through the influence of the 'Socialist-Revolutionaries', that the main thing wrong with our demonstrations is the absence of armed resistance. This is not true. The facts show that only in rare cases is failure to be explained by the lack of weapons. Much more often the causes of failure are insufficient numbers and bad organisation of the demonstrators, lack of broad preliminary agitation, and, because of that, lack of sympathy on the part of the crowd. Our resolution points to the need to prepare all these preliminary conditions, and it is quite enough for it to refer to the need to organise an armed rebuff in a critical situation. It is said that the era of 'peaceful' demonstrations is past. No! The events in Odessa have shown that,

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\* *Martov's* resolution on demonstrations: 'Considering that, under the conditions prevailing in Russia, political demonstrations are one of the most important means of politically educating the broadest masses of the people and of spreading and strengthening the influence of the Social-Democrats; that demonstrations are at the same time the best means of systematically disorganising the machinery of government; that, gradually increasing in scope, these demonstrations must lead, and to some extent are already leading, to a series of armed clashes between the people and the governing authority, thus preparing the masses for a Russia-wide uprising against the existing order, the congress recognises it as necessary that local committees take advantage of suitable occasions for organising political demonstrations. At the same time, the congress notes that in the previous approach to this question, some substantial defects were observed in practice, and recommends that, in order to eliminate these: (1) the committees should, through extensive preliminary agitation, endeavour to ensure that the broadest sections of the population are sympathetic to the aims of a demonstration and are informed of the Party's aims; (2) demonstrations should be organised to take advantage of moments when the mood of the working masses is favourable for this purpose, and artificial incitement of demonstrations when this condition is lacking should be avoided; (3) the active nucleus of demonstrators should be sufficiently numerous, well-organised and prepared for the role they have to play; (4) measures should be taken to ensure that, in case of need, the demonstrators will be able to offer an active, and, if possible, armed rebuff to the police hordes; (5) in view of the fact that regular troops are increasingly being used against the people, steps should be taken to acquaint the soldiers with the nature and purpose of the demonstrations, and to invite them to fraternise with the people; the demonstrators should not be allowed needlessly to irritate the soldiers. The Second Congress of the RSDLP recognises the desirability of the Central Committee directing and co-ordinating the efforts of local committees in the organisation of demonstrations, and taking upon itself the organisation of Russia-wide political demonstrations in accordance with a general plan. — *Martov, Stein, Fischer, Starover, Koltsov, Trotsky, Panin, Posadovsky, Makhov, Braun, Tsaryov.*'

when we have tens of thousands on our side, a peaceful demonstration can accomplish a great deal. The resolution brings out our view of the importance of the demonstration as the best means of disorganising the machinery of government. We need constantly to keep in mind that the concentration of all its forces which we impose upon the autocracy by our agitation is the chief positive result of our work.

*Yegorov:* Demonstrations begin spontaneously, and yet on May Day hardly anyone responded to the appeal. The main thing is choosing the right moment. The masses have not yet risen to the level, have not yet matured sufficiently to the point when they will come to a demonstration even if they are not in the appropriate mood. I therefore move an amendment.

*Rusov also moved an amendment.*

*All the amendments were rejected, and Martov's resolution was adopted.*

*Martov's resolution on the trade union struggle was the next item.\**

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\* Martov's resolution on the trade-union struggle: 'Considering: (a) that trade-union struggle by the workers inevitably follows from the situation of the proletariat in capitalist society; (b) that this struggle is one of the principal means of countering the tendency of the capitalist system to lower the workers' standard of living; and (c) that in so far as this struggle develops in isolation from the political struggle of the proletariat, led by the Social-Democrats, it results in fragmentation of the proletarian forces and subordination of the labour movement to the interests of the propertied classes — the congress recognises that the task of the RSDLP in the field of the trade-union movement is to lead the day-to-day struggle of the workers for improvement in their working conditions and to agitate for removal of all the obstacles put in the way of the trade-union movement by the laws of the Russian autocracy; in short, to unite the separate conflicts involving particular groups of workers into a single, organised class struggle.

'At the same time, in view of the increasingly obvious endeavours of the Tsarist government to get control of the economic struggle of the proletariat under the guise of "legalising the labour movement", and by corrupting it politically to turn this movement into a pawn in its own political game; in view of the fact that this so-called "Zubatov policy" not only has a reactionary-political inspiration and is implemented by police-provocateur methods, but is a policy of systematic betrayal of the interests of the working class for the benefit of the capitalists — the congress recommends that all comrades continue the unremitting struggle against Zubatovism in all its forms, that they lay bare before the workers the self-seeking and treacherous character of the tactics of the Zubatovist demagogues, and that they call on the workers to unite in a single class movement of struggle for the political and economic emancipation of the proletariat. To this end the congress recognises it as desirable that Party organisations give support and guidance to strikes called by the legal labour organisations, and at the same time make use of the clashes to expose the reactionary nature of the union between the workers and the autocracy. — *Martov, Zasulich, Trotsky, Stein, Fischer, Deutsch, Koltsov, Starover, Akselrod, Karsky, Posadovsky, Popov, Panin, Tsaryov, Orlov.*'

*Martov*: In the resolution I move, particular attention is given to the duty of Social-Democrats not to remain neutral in those conflicts between labour and capital which arise as a result of the work of various 'independents', or even against their will. Comrades have told me of cases when Social-Democratic workers have considered it possible to take the places of 'independents' who have gone on strike. The recent events in Odessa have shown what consequences can follow from the Government's playing at legalisation. For this very reason, we must not remain aloof from the purely economic struggle, even when this is being conducted under the auspices of the 'legalisers'.

*Plekhanov* proposed a stylistic amendment, to which *Martov* agreed.

*The resolution was adopted unanimously.*

*Also adopted unanimously were Plekhanov's resolution on the pogrom in Kishinev,\* Martov's on shop stewards,† and Martov's resolution on the presentation of propaganda.‡*

\* *Plekhanov's resolution on pogroms against the Jews*: 'In view of the fact that movements such as the all too sadly well-known pogrom in Kishinev, quite apart from the abominable atrocities they commit, serve in the hands of the police as a means by which the latter seek to hold back the growth of class-consciousness among the proletariat, the congress recommends comrades to use all means in their power to combat such movements and to explain to the proletariat the reactionary and class inspiration of anti-semitic and all other national-chauvinist incitements. — *Plekhanov, Deutsch, Trotsky, Koltsov, Fomin, Posadovsky, Byelov, Pavlovich, Karsky, Gusev.*'

† *Martov's resolution on shop-stewards*: 'On the basis of the propositions developed in the resolution on the trade-union struggle, and considering that the new law on shop-stewards is intended by the government to serve as a means of strengthening police tutelage over the working class, and that, as with all attempts by the government at "legalising the labour movement" this law can and must become a point of departure for agitation against the autocracy and for development of the class consciousness of the proletariat, the congress recommends all organised comrades to take part in the elections of shop-stewards under the new law and to agitate during these elections for the installation of the most reliable representatives of the workers so as to expose the tactics of the authorities and the capitalists in these elections. — *Martov, Fischer, Stein, Trotsky, Starover, Panin, Posadovsky, Makhov, Tsaryov, Lyadov.*'

‡ *Martov's resolution on the presentation of propaganda*: 'Considering that the growth of the labour movement in Russia is far outstripping the growth of the cadre of conscious worker Social-Democrats capable of acting as leaders in the ever more complex struggle of the Russian proletariat; that the conditions of police-imposed clandestinity hinder in the highest degree the correct presentation of propaganda through study-circles on any wide scale at all; and that the lack of a sufficient number of experienced and skilled propagandists puts considerable obstacles in the way of propaganda of this kind —

*The congress proceeded to discuss Lenin's resolution on the student youth.\**

**Martov:** The resolution moved by Lenin seems to me to be quite unsatisfactory. It is necessary to say that the youth should endeavour to acquire an integral world outlook; but it is absolutely out of place to speak in this connection of 'false friends', using the very term which the press employs when writing about us socialists. We have expressed our definite attitude to the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Liberals; there is no point in mentioning again, specially, in the resolution on the youth, the dangers which threaten from the direction of those parties.

**Lenin:** The expression 'false friends' is not just an expression used by reactionaries, and we know from the example of the Liberals and Socialist-Revolutionaries that such false friends do exist. It is these false friends who are trying to persuade the youth that they have no need to distinguish between the different trends. We, on the contrary, consider it the main task to develop an integral revolutionary world

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congress recognises the necessity for local committees to give very serious attention to the correct presentation of propaganda, being guided in this, above all, by the task of developing conscious and active agitators with a definite revolutionary world-outlook. The congress proposes that local committees give particular attention to selecting skilful propagandists and instructs the Central Committee to take all needful measures for systematising and co-ordinating propaganda work in the localities, providing systematic guides for study-circles, a series of systematically chosen propaganda pamphlets and so on. — *Martov, Fischer, Trotsky, Zasulich, Stein, Fomin, Koltsov, Panin, Karsky, Tsaryov.*

\* Lenin's resolution on the attitudes to the student youth: 'The second congress of the RSDLP welcomes the quickening of revolutionary activity among the student youth, urges all Party organisations to co-operate in every way with these young people in their efforts to organise themselves, and recommends all student groups and study-circles, first, to give priority in their activity to developing among their members an integral and consistent socialist world-outlook — a serious knowledge of Marxism, on the one hand, and on the other, of Russian Narodism and Western-European opportunism, as the main trends among the advanced tendencies which are in conflict today; [secondly, to beware of those false friends of the youth who divert it from serious revolutionary education by empty revolutionary or idealistic phrasemongering and philistine moaning about the harmfulness and superfluity of sharp controversy between revolutionary and oppositional trends, since these false friends actually spread nothing but lack of principle and a frivolous attitude to revolutionary work]; thirdly, to try, when going over to practical activity, to establish links beforehand with the Social-Democratic organisations, so as to benefit from their advice and to avoid, as far as possible, committing major errors at the very beginning of their work. — *Lenin, Plekhanov, Gorin, Rusov, Dyedov, Lyadov, Muraviov, Lange, Brouckère, Gusev.*'

outlook, and the practical task for the future is to get the youth, when they are organising themselves, to turn towards our committees.

*Makhov and Trotsky proposed that the second clause be omitted from Lenin's resolution.*

*This amendment was adopted, and Lenin's resolution, as so amended, was then adopted. Koltsov's resolution on the Amsterdam Congress was voted on and adopted unanimously.\**

*Martov's resolution on party publications† was the object of an amendment moved by Lenin, to strike out the words: 'eliminating articles of a purely theoretical nature'.*

*Martov:* I am against the amendment proposed by Lenin. The words about eliminating articles of a purely theoretical nature should stand. If we decide against a special 'popular' organ then we must try to ensure that our central organ becomes as accessible to the readers as possible. It is precisely the articles of a purely theoretical character,

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\* Koltsov's resolution: 'International socialist congresses should not only testify to the solidarity of the workers throughout the world, but should to a certain extent also give leadership to the ideological and practical struggle of the proletariat. Therefore the second congress of the RSDLP recommends the Party Council to see that the Party is appropriately represented at the congress in Amsterdam in 1904, in order to uphold there those principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy by which the Party is guided in all its activity. — Koltsov, Martov, Trotsky, Fischer, Starover, Fomin, Deutsch, Kostich, Orlov, Posadovsky, Panin, Tsaryov, Gusev.'

† Martov's resolution on party publications: 'Considering: (a) that the broadening development of the labour movement ought to be accompanied by the clearest possible understanding among the working-class masses of the immediate and ultimate aims of the Social-Democrats; (b) that it is a vital task for the Party at the present moment to create a strictly consistent body of publications accessible to the widest possible mass of readers, taking into account the present state of the Party's forces — the congress recognises it as necessary: (1) that the central organ devote as much space as possible to questions of political and social life in a form as intelligible as possible to the widest circle of readers, and eliminating, as far as possible, articles of a purely theoretical nature; (2) that with these aims in mind and in order to ensure a more systematic elucidation of problems of socialist theory, [there be established a scientific organ of the Party, appearing as regularly and frequently as possible] *Zarya* be transformed into a Party organ; the congress instructs the central committee to reach agreement with the editorial board of the central organ on the conditions governing publication of this organ [Plekhanov's amendment]; (3) that an extensive pamphlet literature be created, for the purpose of systematically popularising the Party programme and the congress resolutions on tactical questions. The congress instructs the Party's central institutions to see to the taking of all measures needed for the implementation of these decisions. — Martov, Zasulich, Akselrod, Koltsov, Kostrov, Stein, Kostich, Posadovsky, Panin, Makhov.'



for which there is a place in *Zarya*, that makes *Iskra* particularly non-popular.

*Lenin's amendment was rejected.*

*Plekhanov's amendment, about Zarya, was adopted.*

*Martov's resolution, as amended by Plekhanov, was adopted.*

*Deutsch's resolution on Iskra\* was adopted unanimously.*

*Plekhanov* closed the congress, reminding delegates in a brief concluding speech that the decisions of the congress were binding on all members of the Party.

*The congress was closed.*

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\* Deutsch's resolution: 'The congress expresses its desire that the central institutions turn *Iskra* into a daily publication within the shortest possible time. — *Deutsch, Trotsky, Kolitsov, Fomin, Panin, Kostich, Tsaryov, Posadovsky.*'

# **Appendixes and Notes**



## APPENDIX I

### Letter from the Borba group to the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party

Dear Comrades,

Having learnt, quite by chance, that the second congress of our Party is beginning, and after a number of attempts to which it was not considered necessary even to reply, we at last appeal to the congress itself to enable us to take part in elaborating the programme and organisation of the Party for which we have worked to the best of our ability up to now, and in which we shall continue to work, no matter what obstacles may be placed in our way by our Party comrades. When the Organising Committee sent us, through the editors of *Iskra*, its 'draft rules for the second congress', we replied with the following letter:

*To the Organising Committee of the RSDLP*

Dear Comrades,

Owing to certain circumstances, we received only yesterday your 'draft rules for the second congress', and so it is only today that we are able to send you our reply.

We are extremely surprised that, out of all the 'non-local' organisations, you thought it necessary to refrain from inviting only our group. The entire draft, we must do you the justice of saying, has been put together with such an obvious desire to ensure that at the second congress of our Party there may be represented all the trends that exist in the Party, and that this congress may actually restore a Party into which all the forces which are active in its ranks may enter, that the exclusion applied to us alone inevitably attracts attention and can arouse only bewilderment.

However strange it may be that a Social-Democratic organisation should have to prove its right to take part in the congress of its own Party we nevertheless are obliged to state that the following considerations can be advanced in favour of inviting our group to the congress of our Party.

1. From our draft programme, which was published in two different publications in Russia, it is clear that in some sections it differs markedly from the only draft previously published (that of *Iskra* and *Zarya*). We think that, in the interests of comprehensive discussion of our future programme, we should be enabled both to express our views at the congress and to take part in the voting on the adoption of a Party programme.

2. From our two publications, to be issued in the very near future: (a) *The Draft Programme of 'Iskra' and 'Zarya' and the Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats*, and (b) *On Problems of Programme and Organisation*, it will be seen that, where other questions also, which are to be discussed at the congress of our Party, are concerned, we ought to be enabled to take part in the discussion and in the adoption of Party decisions.

3. While groups in Russia which do not come up to the requirements of Paragraph Two are allowed to take part in the congress by attaching themselves to more important organisations, we are deprived of this possibility, because our group cannot instruct other organisations to defend its views on matters of programme and organisation, since these organisations do not share them

4. We cannot be compared, of course, with *Iskra* in the scope of our publishing activity, and we have never claimed this, but we must mention that in less than a year and a half of such work we have brought out 38 printer's sheets, and with the two publications mentioned above, the amount published by us come to more than 60 printer's sheets. More than two-thirds of what we have published has been sent into Russia, and some articles from our *Calendar* have been reprinted in several towns in Russia.

5. The Organising Committee mentioned that we 'issued our *Leaflet*' and 'then did not resume this publication'. Let us remind the OC that, as is clear from the editorial statement, our *Leaflet* set itself one task only, namely, to agitate for the unification of our Party. Soon after No. 1 had appeared, we learnt of the negotiations being carried on by the Petersburg Committee (whose delegate also talked with a representative of our organisation). During the year the striving for unity grew stronger, and it became clear that the question of the actual restoration of the unity of our Party had already become a matter for practical decision, a matter of months. Under these conditions our *Leaflet* lost its *raison d'être*, because we had no wish at all to compete with already existing papers, and we decided to stop publishing it, and to resume publication only in the event that unity was *not* achieved.

6. Our group was organised only so as to contribute so far as we could, to uniting our Party on the basis of a revolutionary Social-Democratic programme. In its activity — both its literary work and its relations with organisations operating in Russia and with individual comrades — our group has been guided by this aim alone. Let us recall, incidentally, that it was on our group's initiative that the Geneva conference was held, which first consecrated the

triumph of revolutionary Marxism over the programmatic and tactical vacillations which had prevailed previously in our Party — and also the subsequent congress of organisations abroad, which, despite its disappointing outcome, nevertheless gave a powerful impetus to the unification of our Party. It would be strange if the unification congress of our Party were to exclude precisely this group — and this group alone.

7. The second congress of our Party must realise *complete* unification of all the forces which have been acting hitherto under the banner of the RSDLP. All the friction which has occurred between our different organisations should be forgotten at the congress. After the congress there should be neither victors nor vanquished, but only one united Social-Democratic Party. Why, then does the OC want to make us, and us alone, an exception?

8. Some Russian organisations friendly to us have told us that a representative of the OC, in the course of negotiations with them, gave as grounds for not inviting the *Borba* group to the Party congress that our group had left the *Iskra* organisation and formed a separate group.

To this we can reply:

(a) This reason was not quoted against us in the explanatory note to the draft rules for the second congress.

(b) We declare that we *never* left the *Iskra* organisation, for the simple reason that we never belonged to it. Although some of us collaborated in *Iskra* and *Zarya*, helped the group publishing these organs, at the beginning of their existence, and fought alongside them against economism, between us and *Iskra* there were only negotiations about a merger, and these negotiations ended without success — through no fault of ours, of which fact we have documentary proof.

(c) There is no doubt in our minds that we represent, within the limits of revolutionary Marxism, a somewhat different shade from the *Iskra* trend, as may be seen by comparing our draft for the Party programme with that of *Iskra*.

In view of the foregoing, we should like to hope that the OC will itself put us on the list of organisations invited to the congress, and will not oblige us to appeal to the congress for this question to be reconsidered which might give rise to a quite undesirable dispute at the very start of the proceedings. In conclusion, we cannot refrain from adding that it is not for the OC, which has assumed the task of fully uniting our Party, to exclude from the congress, without any reason, an organisation which had honourably and to the best of its ability fought under the banner of this Party, an organisation made up of persons some of whom have worked in the Party for more than ten years — especially as our group alone is being subjected to this exclusion. Such behaviour towards us is quite inexplicable: unless it is to be explained by those frictions which we mentioned earlier and which, we repeat, should all be forgotten at the congress.

We request the OC to preserve this reply of ours, which, if need be, will be presented to the second congress of our Party.

*The Borba Group*

PS. In No. 11 of *Yuzhny Rabochy* the following lines appeared, and were reprinted in No. 35 of *Iskra*: 'We are profoundly indignant at all the talk about domineering and dictatorship which is always on the lips of the gentlemen from the *Borba* group, and sometimes on those of the Nadezhdins and of the author, akin to them, of the articles in the pamphlet: *The Workers and the Intelligentsia*.'

*Yuzhny Rabochy* and *Iskra* are represented in the OC, the main task of which is to prepare the conditions for convening the second congress of our Party. Do these conditions include the spreading of unjust accusations against a Social-Democratic organisation? We protest most vigorously against these fabrications. Let them show us where and when we have said anything of the sort.

And to compare us to 'the Nadezhdins' and an 'author akin to us' — this in an article arguing against the well-known statement by the Petersburg 'Workers' Organisation' — is an extremely unscrupulous literary procedure, which could put us in an absolutely false light in the eyes of the organisations operating in Russia. We, least of all, can be accused of such things.

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After vainly waiting *three months* for a reply, we sent, on — —, the following letter to Martov, through whom we had received the OC's 'draft rules':

Dear Comrade,

Nearly three months ago we replied, through you, to the Organising Committee, with a letter about the 'draft rules for the second congress of the RSDLP' which had been sent to us by the OC. We have still not had any reply.

Since, according to information which has reached us, the time for the congress to meet is near at hand, we ask you to remind the OC that we expect to receive a reply from them very soon. In the event that we do not receive a reply, we shall have to appeal to the Congress with a reasoned protest.

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For the *Borba* group:  
*Danyevich*

A member of the Foreign Bureau of the Organising Committee, —, replied to us that our first letter had reached the OC in good time, and that they were now looking into the matter again, and suggested that henceforth we correspond about congress affairs with him, —.

Another three weeks having elapsed and no reply still having been received, we addressed ourselves to the Foreign Bureau of the OC with the following letter:

— — 1903

*To the Foreign Bureau of the Organising Committee*

Dear Comrades,

As the OC has still, despite our two appeals to it, given us no reply regarding our participation in the second congress of our Party, and very little time is left, we request, in accordance with article 21 of the 'Draft Rules for the Second Congress of the RSDLP', that this matter be referred to arbitration. For our part, we propose as members of the arbitration board the representatives of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad and the Foreign Committee of the Bund.

For the *Borba* group:  
*Danyevich*

—

To this letter we received no reply, either, although the OC had no right to refuse our request, on the basis of the rules for the Second Congress themselves.

Finally, the following fact is not without interest. In the letter in which L. Martov sent us the 'Draft Rules for the Second Congress' it was said: 'In addition the OC asks you to convey to the *Borba* group that the OC has not considered it possible to allow this group to participate in the second congress of the Party, and proposes that it appeal to the congress itself for a final decision on this question. On its side, the OC will take measures to ensure that the *Borba* group can, in the event of a favourable reply, take part in the congress.'

'On its side', the OC took no such measures. It did not communicate with us in any way about this matter. The writer of these lines, having learnt, quite by chance, that the congress was beginning, had to go around looking for somebody from whom he could get some sort of explanation of the matter, and, again quite by chance, he managed to catch L. Martov a few minutes before he was leaving for the congress, and to arrange with him how the reply of the congress would be conveyed to us. It is only as a result of the courtesy of



L. Martov that we are able to appeal to the congress by means of this letter. It must be added that, because the OC did not take the steps it had promised to take, our group will, in the event of a favourable reply from the congress, have lost four, perhaps five, days.

The only conclusion one can draw from this is that the OC decided in the negative the question of our participation in the congress. But did it have the right to decide this on behalf of the congress?

Appealing now to the congress itself, with the request to allow us to take part in the elaboration of the programme and organisation of our Party, we can add very little to what was said in our letter to the OC.

And, first and foremost, we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that an atmosphere has been created around our organisation which is very unfavourable, and as a result of which, incidentally, we have been unable to expand our activity. We did not wish in any circumstances to bring our principled struggle down to the level of personal polemic, and did not reply to personal attacks. This is why the atmosphere mentioned has grown thicker and thicker. Matters reached the point that, when we produced our separate draft programme, Plekhanov stated in print that we had been motivated in doing this by 'exclusively personal considerations', and Martov added that we were 'Judases'. A controversy between comrades cannot sink lower than that!

We are not going to say much about this now, but we cannot refrain from mentioning that we should be very glad if, even independently of the settlement of the question of our taking part in the congress, a comrades' court would look into the matter of our negotiations with *Iskra*. We are deeply convinced that not a single comrade would declare against us if he were acquainted with the documents of this affair. With that we conclude on this point.

Turning again to the question of our participation in the congress, we ask what, in substance, is there to be said against it?

We have presented our Party with a draft programme which we want to speak in favour of. Why are we not allowed the right to take part in discussing and voting on the programme of *our* Party? We stated in the foreword to the pamphlet containing our draft and the commentary on it that we submit in advance to the collective will of the Party: but give us the chance to try and influence this Party, in the person of its congress.

We do not agree at all with the views on organisation expressed by Lenin and by *Yuzhny Rabochy* (in No. 11): permit us to present our theoretical and practical arguments.

In its commentaries on articles 9, 10 and 11 of the 'draft rules', the OC shows great desire to extend the right of participation in the congress to the largest number of organisations, and suggests a solution for those insignificant organisations to which it has been obliged to refuse an invitation. But do not the OC and all of you, dear comrades, see that this solution is not

applicable at all in our case, and that, of all the Party organisations, we alone remain, in the fullest sense of the word, overboard?

For what reason has this been done? Is there any consideration at all to support such a decision — if we ignore the brilliant explanation given by Plekhanov, that we are guided by 'exclusively personal motives', and we are quite sure that no comrade will do otherwise than ignore *that* explanation?

The fact is that, at a congress like our present one, representation should be given to all 'non-local', that is, literary, organisations working under the banner of the Party, unless, of course, there are some special reasons for not allowing them to be present. But are there, perhaps, such reasons in our case?

If that is so, you must tell us what they are. If not, we have the right to demand that the doors of the congress be opened to us.

Perhaps a compromise can be effected between our draft and the *Iskra* one. If this is possible, though, it can be realised only at the congress, through a comradely exchange of views. There has been no such exchange in the press. 'Personal considerations', 'rubbish', 'Judases' — all these *Iskra*-type literary gems have offended the eye, but nothing has been clarified. And a full, comprehensive discussion and clarification is what is needed.

We declare, once again, that, whatever the Party's decision may be, we submit to its will, and we shall continue to work in its ranks. But appreciate that, in order that we may submit to the Party's will, we must first be given to chance to influence that will.

In any case, we express the wish that the congress will succeed in creating lasting unity, without which successful struggle is impossible.

Long live the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party!

Long live international Social-Democracy!

For the *Borba* group:

*K. Danyevich*

## APPENDIX II

### Letter from A. Warzawski

Dear Comrade,

I hasten to inform you that, as I had hoped, our congress has passed a resolution on the question of relations with Russian Social-Democracy, which recognises that the cause of uniting the Party of Social-Democracy throughout Russia is the cause of paramount importance to which all other questions must be subordinated, and that therefore the question of the form of organisation, as a secondary matter, must be settled not only from the point of view of Polish interests but from that of the entire Social-Democratic movement in Russia.

*A. Warszawski*

### APPENDIX III

## The Organising Committee's Reply to the 'Borba' Group

The Organising Committee informs the *Borba* group that arbitration cannot be effected on the question of the right of the *Borba* group to elect its representatives to the second ordinary congress of the RSDLP, because when a vote (by committees) was taken on the draft rules for convening the congress only a minority (three committees) declared in favour of the *Borba* group being present. There remains in force, therefore, the paragraph of the rules according to which the question of the *Borba* group's presence at the congress can be decided by the congress alone.

The Organising Committee brings it to the notice of the *Borba* group that the group's statements, despatched in good time by them, were not received by the OC.

To the query by the Foreign Bureau of the OC as to whether the OC in Russia had received a letter from the *Borba* group, the OC replied at once that it had received no such letter, and asked that this be sent immediately.

This reply from the OC was not received abroad.

*Organising Committee*

## APPENDIX IV

### Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Bund

The congress recognises that, according to the sense of the Social-Democratic programme, it is impossible to accept any oppression not only by one class of another, and not only by a government of the citizens, but also by one nationality of another, the domination of one language over others.

The congress recognises that a state like Russia, composed of a multitude of heterogeneous nationalities, must in the future become transformed into a federation of nationalities, with full autonomy for each of them, regardless of the territory they inhabit.

The congress recognises that the concept 'nationality' is applicable to the Jewish people as well.

Considering, however, that it is premature in present circumstances to put forward the demand for national autonomy for the Jews, the congress finds that it is sufficient for the time being to fight for the abolition of all discriminatory laws against the Jews, and to record and protest against manifestations of oppression of the Jewish nationality, while avoiding any fanning of the flames of national feeling, which could only befog the class consciousness of the proletariat and lead to chauvinism.

## APPENDIX V

### A Letter from Riga

Comrades!

You will be discussing the question of national autonomy and of the transformation of the RSDLP on federal principles, and we therefore think you will be interested to learn about the practical experiences we have had of 'federalism' here. At the beginning of 1902 the question arose in our town of uniting the organisations and groups which were active among the local proletariat. Our group, which had always maintained that, until we had a united and indivisible Party committee, embracing in its influence the whole of the local proletariat, without distinction of religion or nationality, we should not have a revolutionary workers' movement here, welcomed this initiative with joy. A commission was formed, with two representatives each from the Jewish and Lettish organisations and the Russian Social-Democratic Group, in order to discuss the question of unity. From the first meetings of this commission it became clear that there could be no question of creating a Party committee for the whole town. First of all, the principle was proclaimed that the local proletariat must be organised by nationalities. Each national organisation was to be completely free and independent in all 'its own' affairs, working according to 'its own' plan, adhering to 'its own' methods of agitation and organisation. The spheres of influence of the three organisations, it was proposed, should be defined in a quite heterogenous way, since each nationality had its distinctive psychology, culture, demands and customs, so that between the representatives of their organisations there could be only 'certain points of contact'. It was left to our group, as the weakest in all respects, merely to take note of this and be guided by it.

Having thus established the principles of organisation by nationalities, and of 'national autonomy', the commission turned to defining the 'points of contact'. These points of contact turned out to be five in number.

(1) Joint dissemination of proclamations of a general character, in the name of the 'federation' (local leaflets to be published and distributed by each organisation independently).

(2) Arrangement of joint demonstrations and strikes.

(3) Organisation of a joint printing press.

(4) Organisation of joint transport arrangements.

(5) Organisation of joint work among the intelligentsia, mainly among the local students.

Having thus established what the points of contact were to be, the commission, with the approval of the constituent organisations, adopted the title of 'United Committee of the Social-Democratic Organisations', and went to work. First there arose the question of issuing joint proclamations. At that time an industrial crisis had broken out in our town: production was seriously reduced in all factories and thousands of workers were thrown out onto the streets. The United Committee decided to react to this calamity by issuing a proclamation explaining the causes of crises and showing the ways to fight against the oppression of the proletariat. It was therefore proposed to publish a leaflet of a general character, but as the season was approaching for the Jewish craftsmen, the Jewish organisation decided to issue a proclamation with a call for a strike. The proclamations of the Lettish organisation had already been produced, and it only remained for the 'Russian Group' to compose their leaflet. In February the proclamations were published approximately at the same time, but each organisation brought out an independent leaflet. Next, the question was raised of issuing a proclamation to the public. The Jewish comrades, who were absorbed at this time in their own organisational affairs, shirked doing this. The Russian group brought out 500 hectographed leaflets, of which some were distributed in the Russian Theatre and some on a house-to-house basis. In March 1902 the gendarmerie, alarmed by student disturbances and the appearance of leaflets, carried out a raid, mainly among the students. During the night of 12-13 March mass searches were made, with several dozen arrests. The Russian group proposed reacting to this event with a proclamation to the public aimed at telling them about the struggle of the RSDLP against the autocracy and calling on them to support this struggle, but the Jewish comrades found it necessary to issue a special proclamation addressed to the Jewish intelligentsia, explaining the role and significance of the Bund in the fight against the Jews' lack of rights. The Lettish organisation issued an independent proclamation, which was distributed among the workers. No joint proclamation was published on that occasion, either. At the time, the United Committee was discussing the establishment of a printing-press and the organisation of transport, but these things got no further than discussion. Each organisation had its own more urgent preoccupations, to which it devoted all its energies.

Meanwhile, May was approaching. The United Committee, having in view

the 'point of contact' concerning the arrangement of demonstrations, recognised that in the existing state of affairs no demonstration was possible, and decided to confine itself to distributing leaflets. On this occasion proclamations of a general character were issued by each organisation quite independently and even at different times. The peasant disorders which broke out in the spring of 1902 confronted the United Committee with the problem of publishing a general proclamation, but each organisation had 'its own pressing business', and the problem of leaflets about the peasant disorders thus remained a problem right down until August, when it was at last removed from the agenda. The question of organising a printing-press, organising transport, and organising work among the intelligentsia meanwhile never left the stage of discussion until they too disappeared from the scene. So ended the first period of the United Committee's existence. The severe setback experienced by the Jewish organisation and the cessation of activity by the Russian group put an end to it, and until January 1903 it no longer functioned.

In January, on the initiative of the Jewish comrades, who had by then recovered from the pogrom, the question was raised of arranging a demonstration in the Russian Theatre, and the United Committee was re-established. Discussion of the question of the demonstration went on for two-and-a-half months. The Russian group declined from the outset, owing to its weakness, to take any active part, so that the whole enterprise had to be undertaken by the two other organisations. In the second half of March the preparations were complete. Leaflets had been produced, to be signed by the United Committee, roles had been allotted, the day fixed. But on the very eve of the demonstration the Lettish organisation quite unexpectedly announced that it refused to take any part in it whatsoever. This refusal was explained by the Lettish comrades on the following grounds. In agreeing to take part in the demonstration, they had had in mind not agitation among the 'bourgeois', as their representative put it, but the demonstration's importance for the Lettish workers as a means of practical preparation for open struggle. At this time, however, they found it more productive to utilise for that purpose the forthcoming visit to our town of some 'very highly-placed personages', during which visit they had decided to hold a counter-demonstration to the 'expression of the loyal sentiments of the Lettish bourgeoisie'. However, when the very highly-placed personages arrived, no demonstration took place. Despite the refusal by the Lettish organisation, the demonstration in the theatre did take place, the entire burden of it being shouldered by the Jewish comrades. With this unsuccessful attempt at 'united action' the existence of our 'federation' came to an end. The United Committee had thus not managed, during the whole period that it was in being (about a year), to carry out any of the tasks it had set itself, and the ending of its activity went as unnoticed by the general movement in our town as its beginning had been. This unsuccessful effort has convinced us even more than before that until a single Party



committee, working on the entire local proletariat, has been formed in our town, we shall not see a real labour movement here.

And we urgently request you, comrades, to take note of the abnormal state of affairs in our town and to do all in your power to put an end to the revolutionary amateurism and organisational separatism that prevails here.

## APPENDIX VI

### Draft rules for the second congress of the RSDLP, drawn up by the OC

1. Organisations which regard themselves as belonging to the RSDLP can participate in the congress.

*Note.* Organisations acting in alliance with non-Social-Democratic organisations are thereby not regarded as belonging to the Party.

2. Of local organisations, only those can participate in the congress with full rights which (i) have been in existence for not less than one year before April 19, 1903; (ii) have during this period carried on agitational propagandist or organisational work among the working-class masses, and (iii) are situated in localities with a more or less significant working-class population.

3. Organisations which are grouped in associations do not have the right to independent representation.

4. Of non-local organisations the following can participate with full rights:

- (i) The 'Emancipation of Labour' Group;
- (ii) the *Iskra* organisation;
- (iii) the League of Revolutionary Social-Democrats;
- (iv) the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad;
- (v) the *Yuzhny Rabochy* Group;
- (vi) the Foreign Committee of the Bund.

5. Organisations will participate in the congress through their deputies, and each can send not more than two of these.

6. Organisations are not subject to any restrictions in choosing their deputies. Their choices, once reported to the OC, cannot be cancelled or protested.

7. The powers of deputies must not be restricted by imperative mandates. They are to be completely free and independent in the exercise of their authority.

8. No deputy may represent more than one organisation.

9. Each organisation with full rights is to be allowed two votes at the congress, regardless of whether it sends one deputy or two.

*Note.* The Bund is granted three deciding votes at the congress.

10. If, however, there are in one town two organisations each of which fulfils the conditions listed in rule 2, they are to divide the votes between them. In this case each organisation can send one deputy only.

11. Local organisations which do not satisfy the conditions listed in rule 2 have no deciding votes at the congress and cannot send deputies. In order, however, not to deprive them completely of participation in the congress, they are allowed (i) to entrust their representation to some organisation which possesses full rights and (ii) through the deputies of this organisation to present their reports or ideas to the congress.

12. The affiliation of these organisations does not increase the number of votes granted to the organisation to which they affiliate.

13. Besides the deputies of organisations there may also participate in the congress individual persons from among the outstanding Party workers, whose participation would be desirable and who for some reason cannot be deputies of organisations. They are to be given consultative voice. The right to invite them belongs to the OC.

14. It is for the OC to decide the time and place of the congress.

15. The OC has the right to declare the congress open, and the congress is to be considered assembled if the representatives of more than half of all the organisations with full rights are present.

16. The congress is the supreme organ of the Party, competent to decide all questions in the Party's name and to take whatever decisions it finds necessary.

17. The congress itself will decide the order of its proceedings, the forms in which questions are to be decided, the carrying out of elections and the publication of its decisions.

18. All decisions of the congress and all the elections it carries out are decisions of the Party and binding on all Party organisations. They cannot be challenged by anyone on any pretext whatever, and can be rescinded or amended only by the next Party congress.

19. This draft is being sent to all the organisations known to the OC for preliminary examination. Comments received from these organisations will be taken into account and, in conformity with the desire of the majority of the organisations which satisfy rule 2, the OC will make the appropriate corrections, after which the draft will be recognised as the actual rules for the Second Party Congress.

20. At the same time as this is being done, the OC will compile a list of the organisations possessing the right of full participation in the congress, and will propose to each organisation that it choose its deputies, with whom the OC will communicate regarding the security aspects of the congress.

21. Protests against this list may be lodged, and in this event the OC will submit each protest to an arbitration board composed of one representative of the OC and the representatives of those two organisations, included in the list,

which are nearest in their sphere of activity to the place where doubt has been raised.

22. In examining a protest the arbitration board does not have to be guided by formal application of rule 2, but will study the entire activity of the organisation and take into account all the special conditions in which it has to work. The decisions of the arbitration board are to be considered final and no protests against its decisions are to be allowed.

23. After this, the appropriate corrections will be made to the list, and the congress will be convened by the OC in accordance with rules 14 and 15.

*Explanatory Note to the Draft Rules for the Second Congress of the RSDLP*

*Re Article 1.* In preparing the draft rules, the OC had, first of all, to define in one way or the other its view on the existence of the RSDLP. If it took the view that the Party does not exist and that the coming conference must be the constituent congress, then, in convening the congress, the OC would not need to be guided by anything except its own discretion. If the Party does not exist and has yet to be created, this conclusion inevitably follows: the creation of the Party is a matter for private initiative, and the initiators have a completely free hand — they can invite to the congress whomsoever they wish, and under whatever conditions they consider necessary, or even absolutely without conditions. A Party could be created at the congress, but in that case nobody would be obliged to recognise it, apart from the participants in the congress. A Party created on that basis would have no right to assume the title of RSDLP, since that would be an act of constraint upon those organisations which regard themselves as belonging to that Party and which were not at the congress. If however we take the view that the RSDLP exists, and the coming congress must be an ordinary one, then the following conclusions have to be drawn: (1) we must work out a constitution which would make the congress the real expression of the Party's will, and (2) we must ensure the legitimacy of the congress, that is, recognition of it by all, or by the majority, of the Party organisations. The present draft is based on the consideration that the RSDLP does exist. Formally speaking, the existence of the Party is expressed in recognition of it by all the organisations. But this formal existence of the Party is no mere fiction: corresponding to it is a certain real unity among the organisations which regard themselves as belonging to the Party. True, this unity is far from complete, and the OC shuts its eyes less than anyone else to the disorganised state of the Party. However, to admit disorganisation still does not mean denying the very existence of the Party. The Party is not merely a formal unity, and therefore, just as the existence of a Central Committee does not in itself prove that the Party exists, neither does the absence of a Central Committee prove that the Party does not exist. An extensive group of organisations fight under the banner of the RSDLP, being bound together by ideological solidarity in their fundamental pronouncements, a solidarity

which was expressed in the Manifesto of the First Congress. But between these organisations there are also organisational ties, expressed in constant communications between different organisations, in their dissemination of the same publications, in their continual exchange of forces, and, finally, in common undertakings (the First of May). The formal link created by the 1898 congress was destroyed, but during the four years which have passed since then an ever-greater real unity has been created, and in this respect it can be said that we are now closer to the organisation of the Party than we were at the time of the First Congress.

*Re Article 2.* Having recognised the coming congress as an ordinary congress of the Party, the OC had to take care, in composing the rules for it, that representation at the congress should not be fortuitous and that it should express the will of the majority. The fairest procedure would, of course, be to invite all the organisations to the congress, and allocate votes among them in accordance with the number of electors whom the organisations represented. But since, in the Russia of the autocracy, there can be no question of electors, the number of electors has to be replaced by a far less definite concept, namely, an organisation's sphere of influence. From this standpoint there is no difference in principle between local and non-local (literary) organisations, since it can be said of the local organisations, too, that they represent the mass movement only in the sense that they control and lead it. No illegal organisation can be the elected representative of a broad Social-Democratic labour movement. Having adopted as the basis for allocation of votes the concept of 'sphere of influence', we had then to find the yardstick by which it would be possible to measure this more or less exactly, so as then to draw up a scale for the distribution of votes. But such an expression of a sphere of influence in terms of votes was obviously just as impossible as counting the votes of all the Social-Democrats, and we had to be content with merely noting that a particular organisation possessed a degree of influence that entitled us to say that it was undoubtedly the representative of the Social-Democratic movement in a given locality, or expressed a certain more or less extensive trend in that movement.

Consequently, we had to select a series of limiting factors which would ensure that only those organisations participated in the congress with regard to which there could be no doubt in that respect. For local organisations we have taken three factors. (1) A certain period of existence, as the necessary condition for obtaining influence. We have taken the shortest time which can be allowed in our view, namely, one year, and reckoned this from April 19 (May 1, NS), because that is a critical moment in the life of an organisation, and the revolutionary year is most properly reckoned from the First of May.

(2) An organisation must carry on activity of a kind that would enable it to gain influence over the masses: agitational, propagandist or organisational activity. This point serves to exclude organisation of a purely technical character.

(3) The place where the organisation exercises influence must be one where there is a fairly considerable concentration of workers, since it seems to us that in the present unco-ordinated condition of the Party a Social-Democratic organisation can be the representative of a broad movement of any size only where there is a mass of workers. In those towns where such a mass does not exist, a local organisation may fulfil extremely important functions, but its sphere of influence cannot be great. We say 'a fairly considerable working-class population', which is very indefinite, but the word 'considerable' is also indefinite, and it is quite impossible, for obvious reasons, to lay down any definite figure.

*Re Article 3.* The right to vote belongs to organisations which represent a movement. This cannot be said of organisations which have entered into association, since they have ceased to be independent entities. The spheres of influence of organisations which have become associated cannot be defined for each such organisation taken separately, since none of them can have any influence which is not due to the activity of the association as a whole. We have in mind here mainly the Northern Association, since the representation of the Bund is dealt with below.

*Re Article 4.* In the case of non-local organisations there is no need to select special criteria, since they can simply be enumerated. First on the list comes the 'Emancipation of Labour' Group. Although this group has joined another organisation, we nevertheless consider it necessary to accord it independent representation at the congress, in view of its role in the history of the Social-Democratic movement. The list does not include the *Borba* group, which produced a leaflet in the spring, has not resumed publication since then, and as the nature and scope of its activity give us no grounds for supposing that it represents any special trend in Social-Democracy or possesses any considerable influence in the movement.

*Re Article 7.* The requirement of complete freedom and competence for the deputies follows entirely from the very concept of the congress as the supreme organ of the Party. The congress has the right to decide all questions and take any decisions (see Article 17), and for this it is necessary that deputies to the congress shall have the right to discuss all questions, and not only those which are laid down in the agenda and have been previously discussed in the organisations that have sent the deputies to the congress.

The particular harmfulness of imperative mandates (if there were to be any) would be shown in the settlement of questions of tactics and organisation. While, where questions of the Party programme are concerned, every deputy will certainly arrive with quite well-defined decisions already come to, the questions mentioned above, which have been little discussed in the press and little clarified, will require the congress to display a good deal of initiative, and imperative mandates would therefore undoubtedly render the congress

unable to take decisions. Even with regard to deciding questions which have been foreseen and discussed beforehand in particular organisations, the deputies should not be bound in any way by such definite previous decisions. The congress is not a mere office for counting votes. Before coming to decisions the congress will discuss questions: as a result of discussion a new formulation may emerge, and *views may even change*. And every deputy must be empowered to vote as his beliefs and conscience prompt him, including in those cases when he finds it necessary to go back on decisions which he brought to the congress. In this matter each deputy at the congress is not merely the attorney of a particular organisation, passing on its decisions and defending its interests, but a deputy of the Party, who must be guided in his behaviour by the interests of the Party as he understands them. Every organisation which sends a deputy to the congress must take care to ensure that the deputy arrives at the congress prepared to do his duty. This preparation should consist in preliminary discussion in the separate organisations of all the questions laid down for discussion by the congress. And if a particular organisation, in sending its deputy to the congress, has in mind the interests of the Party and takes trouble to ensure that its deputy is able to represent those interests, then, of course, no occasion will arise for dissatisfaction with the way the deputy has voted. This article does not deprive a deputy of the right to abstain from voting and to refer to the opinion of a particular organisation. It merely leaves this to the free choice of the deputy himself. It is of no concern to the congress what instructions a deputy has received or how he has fulfilled them, and neither the congress nor anyone else has the right to protest against the way a deputy voted or did not vote, on the grounds that he carried out wrongly the decision of the organisation that sent him. We regard it as unnecessary to talk about abuse of trust.

*Re Articles 9, 10 and 11.* The OC considered that each organisation should be given two votes at the congress — two, rather than one — because: (1) this makes it possible to represent the views of the majority and the minority in an organisation, and (2) if there are two organisations in one town, this enables each of them to be allotted one vote at the congress, whereas if every organisation were to be given one vote it would be unfair to give two votes to a town where there were two organisations. In a case like this, the two organisations are treated as the majority and the minority in a single organisation, which is confirmed by the actual history of how the two organisations came to be formed. The giving of equal rights in deciding votes to all organisations may seem unfair. The OC is, of course, aware that far from all these organisations are equivalent in their importance, but since it is quite impossible to find a factor which could serve to determine a scale for the distribution of votes, any attempt to assign votes unequally, in relation to the influence and importance of the given organisation, would be simply arbitrary. The OC preferred not to take that path, considering that, to a certain extent, this unfair equalising of

the rights of all organisations will be corrected by the moral influence exercised by the most important organisations. Nevertheless, the OC found it necessary to make one departure from this rule — where the Bund was concerned. Taking into account the quite exceptional size and influence of this organisation, the OC thinks it right to give the Bund three votes at the congress (in addition to the two votes for the Foreign Committee of the Bund). On the other hand, this small number of extra votes given to the Bund will be more than balanced by the fact that very many organisations in Russia which do not satisfy Article 2 are wholly deprived of the right to a decisive vote. This elimination of a substantial number of organisations may also seem unfair and undesirable. But if we were to give every little organisation a vote, then big ones would have to be given several votes, and this would bring us back to the need to find some way of measuring an organisation or its influence. Furthermore, it cannot be said with any certainty about a considerable number of small-town organisations that they are representatives of a movement, since often they deal only with isolated individuals. Taken together, such organisations are, of course, very important for the Party, especially through the special services they perform. But if we were to give such organisations the right to vote at the congress, the latter would cease to be representative of the Social-Democratic movement. All the same, of course, exclusion of any organisation from participation in the congress is undesirable, and the OC has found the way out of these difficulties which is indicated in Article 11. This article enables all organisations to take part in the work of the congress and even to influence it, as the deputy representing an organisation possessing full rights.

*Article 12* is explained by the fact that if an organisation has no vote on its own account, its affiliation cannot increase the number of votes possessed by another organisation.

*Re Article 13.* Proceeding from the desire to draw all the Party's forces into participation in the congress, the OC has included this article in the rules so as to empower the OC to invite 'persons of experience', with the right of consultative voice only. Since these participants on the congress are not given deciding votes and since the OC can invite, in this category, only outstanding Party workers, we see no reason why the OC should not be allowed this power.

*Re Articles 19-22.* In determining the procedure for confirming the rules, the OC was guided by the consideration that, as a private organisation, it can do nothing, where the congress itself is concerned, without the authority of the Party. It will produce its summary of the opinions of the organisations only if the majority accept Article 20.

Subsequently, when the list has been drawn up, this can still be protested, and the protest can be gone into by arbitration. This article about arbitration



was included, on the one hand, because of the possible existence of organisations whose exclusion from the number of participants in the congress with full rights, under Article 2, would be unjust, owing to their specific peculiarities; and, on the other, so as to bring the OC under control by the Party even in the matter of formal application of the adopted rules. seeking in this way to eliminate any possibility of the OC's being accused of arbitrary conduct. When counting votes the OC will treat as decisive only those which satisfy the conditions of Article 2. The votes of small organisations will not be counted, for the reasons given above, although their statements will be taken into consideration by the OC.

### *PS*

1. The OC asks the organisations to whom this draft and explanatory note have been sent to pass on copies to neighbouring organisations which may not, for some reason, have received them, and to obtain their views.

2. The OC asks that opinions about the draft be sent to it as quickly as possible.

## APPENDIX VII

### I. Resolution of the Arbitration Board on the Question of Inviting the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers to the Congress

The arbitration board, composed of representatives of the Don and Yekaterinoslav Committees, having heard the explanations given by the representatives of the mining and metallurgical workers, has arrived at the following decision. Considering (1) that the area where the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers is active is an extremely important strategic point for our Party; (2) that the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, despite exceptionally difficult circumstances, made the first breakthrough for the penetration of Social-Democracy into this area, has formed firm ties with all the largest centres in the area, and since the beginning of 1903 has even carried on vigorous agitation, issuing a number of proclamations; (3) that the Association could give the congress ideas which it is important for it to have about the organising of Social-Democratic activity in small industrial centres remote from cities — the arbitration board regards it as necessary to grant the Association of Mining and Metallurgical Workers the right to participate fully in the congress.

### II. Resolution of the Arbitration Board on the Question of Inviting the Committee of the Kishinev Organisation to the Congress

The arbitration board, composed of representatives of the OC, and of the Odessa and Nikolayev Committees, having heard the detailed explanations of the representatives of the Kishinev organisation, has adopted the following resolution:

Considering: (1) that the Committee of the Kishinev Organisation has not precisely determined its attitude to the RSDLP in general, and in particular to one of its organisations, namely, the Bund; (2) that the Committee of the

Kishinev Organisation does not satisfy the conditions set out in Article 2 of the rules; (3) that, given the size of the organisation and its activity, as communicated to the arbitration board by the representatives of this organisation, the arbitration board does not find it necessary to make an exception of the Kishinev organisation; (4) that it is the view of the arbitration board that the Committee of the Kishinev organisation cannot give the congress any new ideas regarding the Party's attitude to the pogroms against the Jews, which was the particular reason adduced by the representatives of this organisation for its desire to take part in the congress — the arbitration board decides to decline to invite the Kishinev organisation to the congress.

## APPENDIX VIII

### Resolution of the International Socialist Congress in Brussels on the Jewish Question

Considering that the Socialist and Labour Parties of all countries take a negative attitude to racial antagonism and struggle between nationalities, recognising only the class struggle of the proletarians of all races against the capitalists of all races;

Considering, further, that the Yiddish-speaking workers have no means of liberating themselves other than unity with the Labour or Socialist Parties of the relevant countries;

Condemning, finally, anti-semitic and philo-semitic agitation, which are, in the hands of the capitalists and the ruling classes, one of the means for diverting the socialist movement from the right path and introducing discord among the workers;

The congress does not find it necessary to spend time on the question put forward by the delegates of the Yiddish-speaking American Socialist groups, and proceeds to next business.

## APPENDIX IX

### Declaration by the Representatives of the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania

Since our congress, not having received an invitation to the all-Russia congress, had no basis for discussing the *Iskra Zarya* draft programme, and in our press we naturally kept our criticism within the bounds proper to our relations with another Party, we decided to abstain at the present congress from taking part in the discussion about the formulation of the programme.

In view of the fact that the draft programme, though in our opinion needing some important amendments, nevertheless seems to us to be satisfactory in its main and fundamental features, we consider it possible to accept this programme, while reserving, of course, the right to raise certain questions relating to it in the press and at our next congress.

One point in the draft, Article 7, is, however, of particular importance for us as Poles. Since, for us, the struggle against nationalism is a question of primary importance, our congress expressed the desire that the article in question in the Russian programme be altered in such a way as to rule out any interpretation favourable to the nationalist tendency which sees it as the task of the Polish proletariat to restore Poland.

The 44th issue of *Iskra* has changed the situation considerably. The leading article in that issue gives Article 7 of the Russian draft programme quite unambiguously and openly the significance of *carte blanche* for raising the Polish nationalist programme of restoring Poland, trying to link this programme with the united all-Russia struggle against the autocracy. In this article it is said: 'Russian Social-Democracy does not in the least intend to tie its own hands . . . It takes into account all *possible*, and even all *conceivable*, combinations. That programme (the *Iskra* programme) in no way precludes the adoption by the Polish proletariat of the slogan of a free and independent Polish republic, even though the probability of its becoming a reality before socialism is introduced is infinitesimal.'

This compels us to note the following fact. The latest interpretation by *Iskra* is in *direct contradiction* with the interpretation of the same Article 7 of

the draft programme which was given in No. 33, in the note on the manifesto of the Armenian Social-Democrats, where it said: 'It is not the business of the proletariat to advance such demands, which inevitably amount to a demand for the establishment of an autonomous *class* state.' And again: 'The demand for recognition of every nationality's right to self-determination simply implies that we, the party of the proletariat, must always and unconditionally oppose any attempt to influence national self-determination from without by violence or injustice. While at all times performing this negative duty of ours (to fight and protest against violence) we on our part concern ourselves with the self-determination of the proletariat in each nationality rather than with self-determination of peoples or nations.'

Whereas, previously, we could agree with such a presentation of the question and confine ourselves merely to asking for a different wording which would rule out the possibility of any interpretation in a nationalist spirit, the turn given to the matter by *Iskra's* new article considerably complicates the situation and may hamper our unification.

Regarding the way the question has been presented in *Iskra*, we must make the following comments.

1. It is not the task of a Social-Democratic programme to foresee all 'conceivable' and 'inconceivable' combinations of political phenomena. The programme bases itself, so far as immediate tasks are concerned, only upon the positive tendencies of the social process in general, and the partial manifestations of this process in a particular country, on the one hand, and, on the other, upon the real interests of the proletariat.

The general principles of Social-Democracy and its tactics fully enable it to adapt its activity and demands to changed conditions in each particular case, and it has no need at all to resort beforehand to algebraic formulas which do not foresee either the concrete setting of these future changes, or the direction of the proletariat's interests at the moment when these changes take place. To speak concretely: if at some time the restoration of the Polish class state were, through unforeseen circumstances, to become possible, only then would it be possible for us to discuss whether this restoration conformed to the interests of the Polish proletariat.

2. Article 7 of the draft programme, as interpreted by *Iskra*, has been transformed into an empty envelope into which absolutely every possible sort of nationalist programme can be inserted, and is therefore not a *solution* of the national question for Russian Social-Democracy, but an *evasion* of the task of solving this question, and thus perpetuates the programmatic dissension and vacillation on this question among Social-Democrats.

3. The attempt to *combine* the Social-Democratic programme of struggle to overthrow the autocracy, common to the whole proletariat of Russia without

regard to differences of nationality, with the nationalist programme of restoring Poland, is inconceivable both from the theoretical and from the practical standpoint.

Theoretically, this endeavour is *eclecticism*, combining two programmes behind which are hidden two utterly different world outlooks, two opposite views of the development of Poland and Russia, and which would be no less incompatible in the programme of Polish Social-Democracy than Marxism and Narodism would be in the programme of Russian Social-Democracy.

Practically, the belief that it is possible to separate the actual programme of Polish nationalism from its natural and inevitable consequences in practice, which are shown in the PPS, from chauvinism and fragmentation of the forces of the struggling proletariat, is unconscious *opportunism*, exactly comparable to that which lies behind the view that it is quite possible for Socialists to become members of bourgeois governments while ignoring the unpleasant consequences of Millerand's policy.

Abstract arguments about the possibility of combining the programme of restoring Poland with a Social-Democratic programme and activity are refuted, moreover, by the ten years *experience* of the Polish movement in Germany. The Party leadership of German Social Democracy expressed this incompatibility in an official, categorical statement dated December 9, 1902, which was reproduced in *Iskra*.

4. The only possible solution of the national question, which is today binding upon Social-Democrats in all circumstances, is, in our view, defence of freedom of *cultural development* of each nationality, through *Democratisation* of the historically-given state institutions.

We propose that Article 7 in the draft programme be re-formulated in that sense:

'Article 7. Institutions guaranteeing freedom of cultural development to all nations included within the state.'

This formulation, by its general nature, takes account of the variety of historical conditions and ways of life among the different nationalities of Russia, while at the same time excluding any nationalistic interpretation, and enables us to interpret this article, as it affects Poland, in the spirit of *our programme*, that is, in the sense of a demand for autonomy for Poland and Lithuania. It is inconceivable that our organisation could reconcile the present formulation of Article 7 with the interpretation given to it in No. 44 of *Iskra*, since the common Party programme would then contradict the decisions of all our Party congresses (see the 1894 congress *Spr. Rab.* No. 10) and the fundamental idea of our Party activity, and so there would not be, where this question of cardinal importance for us is concerned, that unity of spirit and principle between us without which we regard organisational unity as being pointless.

We consider therefore, independently of the three basic conditions for our unification with the all-Russia Social-Democratic movement which we presented earlier, that this unification will become possible only if the congress finds that it can adopt the formulation of Article 7 of the Programme which we have proposed, or another formulation with the same meaning, or, at least, if the congress agrees to leave the question open and holds over its formulation till the next congress, with appropriate elucidation of the question in the press.



## APPENDIX X

### Declaration by the Delegation of the Bund at the Second Congress of the RSDLP

The question of the position of the Bund in the Russian Party was from the very start of the congress transformed into the question whether the Bund should or should not exist, as the organisation of the Jewish proletariat: the majority of the congress directly or indirectly expressed themselves in favour of the need to liquidate the Bund, immediately or gradually, this desire finding expression in a series of facts, the most glaring of which we shall quote.

1. The debate on the proposed organisational rules drawn up by the Fifth Congress of the Bund revealed the presence of a hatred of the Bund which showed us plainly the results that can be achieved by a systematic campaign against an organisation, when the audience is completely ignorant of its character, tasks and activity. A series of speakers passed before us. They said that the First Party Congress had made a regrettable mistake in allowing the Bund autonomy and that the consequences of this mistake were now making themselves felt; that the Bund was an historical anomaly which must be put an end to in one way or another; that the Bund had taken the road of separatism and nationalism, and that in order to leave that road it must, at the very least, return to the period preceding the Fourth Congress; that if the activity of the Bund did not bear the clear stamp of nationalism, yet its tendency was fraught with nationalistic delusions, the best palliative for which would be to set the Bund within strictly defined territorial limits, and gradually to reduce this area, and so on and so forth. The sense of the speeches made was always the same: the Bund must be destroyed, but since it is not possible to do that today, we must put the Bund in such conditions that it will be able only to drag out a wretched, vegetable existence and move steadily towards extinction. This sense of the speeches was frequently emphasised by friendly applause from the majority of the congress, and this sense could not be altered one jot by the bowing and scraping to the Bund which ensued next day, when the majority suddenly realised they had bent the stick too far.

2. When we, in the interests of achieving unity, had removed from the draft rules we presented all the points which, in the opinion of the majority, bore a treaty-like, federal character, leaving, of all the disputed points, only the two most essential, without which the Bund could not exist — then Comrade Martov's resolution was passed, in which the words 'independence of the Bund' were replaced by the vague expression, capable of any interpretation, 'independence of the Jewish labour movement', and this 'independence' was restricted to the narrow limits of 'particular tasks of agitation'. The sense and significance of this 'independence' was frankly explained by Comrade Plekhanov when he said that what was meant here was technical autonomy, such as is enjoyed by any and every Party committee, and reduced the Bund to the level of a local committee, with the sole, inessential difference that the Bund was to be allowed technical autonomy over a larger area than any local committee. And if any doubt was left that the majority were opposed to the decision of the First Party Congress on the position of the Bund in the Party, as a decision which gave the Bund genuine autonomy, this doubt was finally dissipated after the rejection of the amendment and we moved to Comrade Martov's resolution, in which he proposed to confirm the decision of the First Congress on the autonomy of the Bund in relation to questions specially affecting the Jewish proletariat. By rejecting this amendment the majority declared their solidarity with Comrade Plekhanov's statement putting the Bund on a par with a local committee.

3. The majority of the congress categorically refused to discuss our rules point by point in their original form, on the grounds that they were permeated with the spirit of federation. Later, this same majority passed Comrade Martov's resolution in which any attempt to modify the Party rules in the spirit of federation was rejected and at the same time it was proposed to switch to the item 'Party organisation' the discussion of our rules in their altered form. By so doing the majority acknowledged that it could not perceive any elements of federation in the altered rules. Nevertheless, having decided the question of the general organisation of the Party, it thought it necessary to reject the cardinal point of our rules in their altered form, on the grounds that this point was composed in the spirit of federation. One of two things must be true. Either the majority consciously allowed discussion of a point known to be federalist in character to be switched to item 5 of the agenda, and thus, for the sake of practical considerations, let itself be drawn on to the path of unprincipled conduct, or else, under the pretext of rejecting federation, it rejected a point composed in the spirit of autonomy. We adopt the second supposition, as being more to the advantage of the majority, which has continually emphasised its unconditional loyalty to principle. But in adopting the second supposition we have to recognise that the majority once more emphasised its negative attitude to autonomy.

4. When, after the organisational rules had been adopted, the second point of our rules came up for discussion, the majority did not even consider it necessary to propose amendments to this point. Furthermore, it declared its solidarity with Comrade Martov's speech expressing doubt whether the Bund could be recognised even as a territorial organisation, and thereby finally and decisively took the line of denying the Bund's right to exist, the line which, with greater or lesser frankness, it had stood for during all the sessions of the congress.

These facts show beyond any doubt that the majority at the congress revealed from the earliest sessions a tendency to put an end by one means or another to the existence of the Bund.

True to this tendency, the majority rejected the most essential point in the rules in its altered form, which had been adopted unanimously by all 30 participants in the Fifth Congress of the Bund — the point which is not only absolutely necessary for the existence of the Bund, but constitutes the only real safeguard against the general organisational rules of the Party, which have been compiled in a spirit that presupposes and permits complete swallowing and levelling of organisations and suppression of all independence of the sections of the Party.

Taking account of the rejection of this point (by which the Bund is not restricted in its activity by any territorial limits, and is in the Party as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat), the delegation of the Bund, on the precise basis of the powers received by it from the Fifth Congress of the Bund, declares that the Bund leaves the RSDLP, and quits the congress.

In departing from the congress, the Bund delegation expresses its firm conviction that practical experience will show the unsoundness of that tendency to suppression and levelling which has found such glaring expression in the organisational rules adopted by the Second Congress of the Russian Party, and that, when this happens, a real possibility will be created for lasting realisation of the unity of Russia's Social-Democratic movement.

The delegation of the Bund:  
*Lieber, Abramson, Goldblatt, Yudin and Hofman*

## APPENDIX XI

### Draft Organisational Rules of the RSDLP Moved at the Congress by Lenin

1. A Party member is one who accepts the Party's programme and supports the Party both financially and by personal participation in one of the Party organisations.

2. The Party Congress is the supreme organ of the Party. Party congresses are convened (if possible, not less often than one in two years) by the Central Committee. The Central Committee is obliged to convene a congress if this is demanded by Party committees, or associations of committees, which together commanded one-third of the votes at the previous congress, or at the demand of the Party Council. A congress is to be considered valid if there is representation of over one-half of all the (properly constituted) committees of the Party existing at the moment of the congress.

3. The following are entitled to be represented at a congress: (a) the Central Committee; (b) the editorial board of the Central Organ; (c) all local committees which do not belong to special associations; (d) all associations of committees which are recognised by the Party; and (e) the League Abroad. Each of the organisations enumerated has two deciding votes at a congress. New committees and associations of committees become entitled to representation at a congress only if they have been endorsed not less than six months before the congress.

4. The Party Congress appoints the Central Committee, the editorial board of the Central Organ, and the Party Council.

5. The Central Committee co-ordinates and directs all the practical activities of the Party and administers the central party treasury, and also all the technical institutions common to the Party as a whole. It investigates conflicts both between and within the various Party organisations and institutions.

6. The editorial board of the Central Organ gives ideological guidance to the Party, editing the Party's Central Organ, its scientific organ and separate pamphlets.

7. The Party Council is appointed by the congress from among members of the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee, and consists of five persons. The Council settles disputes and differences arising between the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee on questions of general organisation and tactics. The Party Council appoints a new Central Committee in the event of all the members of the old one being put out of action.

8. New committees and associations of committees are endorsed by the Central Committee. Each committee, association, organisation or group recognised by the Party has charge of affairs relating specially and exclusively to its particular locality, district or national movement, or to the special function assigned to it; being bound, however, to obey the decisions of the Central Committee and the Central Organ and to make contributions to the central party treasury in amounts determined by the Central Committee.

9. Any Party member and any person who has any dealings with the Party is entitled to demand that any statement made by him be transmitted in the original to the Central Committee, the Central Organ or the Party congress.

10. It is the duty of every Party organisation to afford both the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ every opportunity of becoming acquainted with all its activities and its entire composition.

11. All Party organisations and corporate institutions of the Party conduct their business by simple majority vote, and have the right of co-option. A two-thirds majority vote is required for co-option of new members and for expulsion of members.

12. It is the purpose of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad to carry on propaganda and agitation abroad and also to assist the movement in Russia. The League enjoys all the rights of committees, with the sole exception that it renders assistance to the movement in Russia only through persons or groups specially appointed for the purpose by the Central Committee.

## Members of the Congress

<i>Organisations</i>	<i>Delegates</i>
1. 'Emancipation of Labour' Group	1. Plekhanov
2. <i>Iskra</i> organisation	2. Deutsch
3. Foreign Committee of the Bund	3. Martov (2 votes)
4. Central Committee of the Bund	4. Hofman
	5. Goldblatt
5. League of Russian Social-Democrats	6. Lieber
6. Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad	7. Yudin
7. <i>Yuzhny Rabochy</i> group	8. Abramson
8. Petersburg Committee	9. Lenin (2 votes)
9. Petersburg Workers' Organisation	10. Martynov
10. Moscow Committee	11. Akimov
11. Kharkov Committee	12. Popov
	13. Yegorov
12. Kiev Committee	14. Gorsky
	15. Brouckère
	16. Byelov
	17. Sorokin
	18. Ivanov
	19. Medvedev
	20. Pavlovich
	21. Stepanov

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| 13. Odessa Committee                               | 22. Osipov           |
|  | 23. Kostich          |
| 14. Nikolayev Committee                            | 24. Makhov (2 votes) |
| 15. Crimean Association                            | 25. Panin (2 votes)  |
| 16. Don Committee                                  | 26. Gusev            |
|  | 27. Tsaryov          |
| 17. Association of Mining<br>Metallurgical Workers | 28. Lvov             |
| 18. Yekaterinoslav Committee                       | 29. Lensky           |
|  | 30. Orlov            |
| 19. Saratov Committee                              | 31. Lyadov           |
|  | 32. Gorin            |
| 20. Tiflis Committee                               | 33. Karsky (2 votes) |
| 21. Baku Committee                                 | 34. Rusov (2 votes)  |
| 22. Batum Committee                                | 35. Bekov (2 votes)  |
| 23. Ufa Committee                                  | 36. Fomin            |
|  | 37. Muravyov         |
| 24. Northern Association                           | 38. Lange            |
|  | 39. Dyedov           |
| 25. Siberian Association                           | 40. Posadovsky       |
|  | 41. Trotsky          |
| 26. Tula Committee                                 | 42. Hertz            |
|  | 43. Braun            |

## Persons with Consultative Voice

1. Akselrod		Editorial Board of <i>Iskra</i>
2. Zasulich		
3. Starover		
4. Koltsov		Bund
5. Wolf		
6. Stein		Organising Committee
7. Fischer		
8. Warszawski		Polish Social-Democrats
9. Hanecki		
10. Glebov		
11. Strakhov		
12. Yuzhin		
13. Sablina		
14. Kostrov		



## Note on the Delegates

Some of the delegates are better known to history under their pseudonyms than under their real names — Lenin (1870-1924), Plekhanov (1856-1918), Martov (1873-1923), Trotsky (1879-1940), Deutsch (1855-1941), Lieber (1880-1937), Martynov (1865-1935), Akselrod (1850-1928), Zasulich (1851-1919) and Hanecki (1879-1937) — but the majority of them are easier to identify if their real names are known. Below is a list, in alphabetical order, of their pseudonyms as given in the Congress minutes.

One exception to the general rule on pseudonyms is the Polish delegate, known to history under the pseudonym of Warski, but appearing in these minutes under his real name, Warszawski (1868-1937).

Abramson	K. Portnoy, 1872-1941
Akimov	V.P. Makhnovets, 1872-1921
Bekov	A.G. Zurabov (also known as 'Rashid-Bek'), 1873-1920
Braun	S.I. Stepanov, 1876-1935
Brouckère	L.P. Makhnovets (Akimov's sister) (       )
Byelov	L.S. Zeitlin, 1877 -
Dyedov	L.M. Knipovich, 1856-1920
Fischer	R.S. Halberstadt (Krokhmal's wife), 1877-1940
Fomin	V.N. Krokhmal, 1873-1933
Glebov	V.A. Noskov, 1878-1913
Goldblatt	V.D. Medem, 1879-1923
Gorin	V.F. Galkin, 1863-1925
Gorsky	A.V. Shotman, 1880-1939
Gusev	Ya. D. Drabkin, 1874-1933
Herz	D.I. Ulyanov (Lenin's brother), 1874-1943
Hofman	M. Ya. Levinson (also known as 'V. Kossovsky'), 1870-1941
Ivanov	E.S. Levina, 1874-1905
Karsky	D.A. Topuridze, 1871-1942
Koltsov	B.A. Ginzburg, 1863-1920
Kostich	M.S. Zborovsky, 1879-1935

Kostrov	N.N. Zhordania, 1870-1953
Lange	A.M. Stopani, 1871-1932
Lensky	L.S. Vilensky, 1880-1950
Lvov	I.N. Moshinsky, 1875-1954
Lyadov	M.N. Mandelshtam, 1872-1947
Makhov	D.P. Kalafati (also known as 'Mitsov'), 1871-1940
Medvedev	L.V. Nikolayev ( )
Muravyov	G.M. Mishenev, -1906
Orlov	L.D. Makhlin, 1880-1925
Osipov	R.S. Zemlyachka (also known as 'Zalkind'), 1876-1947
Panin	M.S. Makadzyub, 1876-
Pavlovich	P.A. Krasikov, 1870-1939
Popov	V.N. Rozanov, 1876-1939
Posadovsky	V.E. Mandelberg, 1870-
Rusov	B.M. Knunyants, 1878-1911
Sablina	N.K. Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), 1869-1939
Sorokin	N.E. Bauman, 1873-1905
Starover	A.N. Potresov, 1869-1934
Stein	E.M. Aleksandrova, 1864-1943
Stepanov	I.K. Nikitin, 1877-1944
Strakhov	K.M. Takhtarev, 1872-1925
Tsaryov	A.S. Lokerman, 1880-1937
Wolf	A.I. Kremer, 1865-1935
Yegorov	E.Y. Levin, 1873-
Yudin	I.L. Eisenstadt, 1867-1937
Yuzhin	A.A. Yakubova (Strakhov's wife), 1870-1917

Eight of those present were women: Brouckère, Dyedov, Fischer, Ivanov, Osipov, Sablina, Stein and Yuzhin.

## Concordance with the Russian text

Throughout *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, Lenin gives page references to the Russian text of the minutes. To aid the reader, the table below shows the correspondence between the Russian original and the pages of this edition.

<i>Pages of original</i>		<i>This edition</i>
1-6	Programme adopted at 2nd Congress	3-9
7-9	Organisational rules adopted at 2nd Congress	10-12
10	Congress agenda	13-14
11	Congress standing orders	15
11	Congress Bureau and Commissions	16
12-18	Principal resolutions passed	17-25
19-30	1st Session	27-42
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55-64	4th Session	74-84
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167-173	16th Session	217-226
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207-218	20th Session	270-285
219-235	21st Session	286-307
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245-256	23rd Session	320-334
257-261	24th Session	335-341
262-271	25th Session	342-354
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291-303	28th Session	380-396
304-311	29th Session	397-406
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330-339	31st Session	430-441
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395-396	Members of the Congress	513-515

# Explanatory Notes

## *Congress Agenda*

<sup>1</sup> For Lenin's draft of the agenda and standing orders, with commentary, see *Collected Works*, Vol. 41, pp. 78-84.

## *Resolutions*

<sup>1</sup> Bonch-Bruyevich regarded the Neo-Stundists (an offshoot of the Baptists), the Khlysty, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Dukhobors as the most 'likely' elements among the sectaries — i.e., the religious dissenters, who were persecuted by the Orthodox Church with the backing of the state. Nine issues of *Rassvet*, the special paper for work among the sectaries, were published in 1904. On Party work among the sectaries, see Valentinov, *Encounters with Lenin*, Chapters 7 and 8.

## *First Session*

<sup>1</sup> At the first session Yegorov (delegate from *Yuzhny Rabochy* and a member of the Organising Committee) and Goldblatt, of the Bund, had not yet arrived. Yegorov arrived for the second session, and Goldblatt for the tenth.

<sup>2</sup> Plekhanov's 'humanist knight' is Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), on whom see Engels, in *The Peasant War in Germany*. In a letter to a friend in 1518, early in the Reformation period, he wrote: '*O seculum! Juvat vivere.*'

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the conferences held at Byelostok in March 1902 and at Pskov in November 1902. The precise dates were not given here for security reasons.

<sup>4</sup> The 27th committee, whose representative did not arrive, having been arrested while crossing the Russian frontier, was the Nizhny-Novgorod committee.

<sup>5</sup> Lydia Makhnovets took as her pseudonym the name of Louis de Brouckère (1870-1951), a Belgian Socialist who was at this time prominent in the Second International.

## *Second Session*

<sup>1</sup> '51 persons present' is a mistake by the secretaries. There were at the 2nd session 50 persons altogether — 42 delegates, with 51 deciding votes, and 8 persons with consultative voice.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of the credentials report at the second session, Goldblatt not having arrived yet, the other delegate from the Foreign Committee of the Bund was temporarily credited with two votes, pending his partner's arrival.

<sup>3</sup> The *Borba* group consisted of Ryazanov, Nevzorov (i.e. Nakhamkes, also known as Steklov) and Danevich (i.e., E.L. Gurevich).

<sup>4</sup> 'X' was P. P. Maslov. Lenin's 'Reply to Criticism of our Draft Programme' June 1903, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, deals with his critique.

### Third Session

<sup>1</sup> For the background to this affair, see Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, pp. 22-23. Stein, a member of the OC, had favoured inviting a person named Chernyshov to the congress, but Pavlovich, also on the OC, had vigorously opposed this. Piqued, Stein now changed her attitude on the question of inviting Ryazanov. Though she had previously been against this, and had told the Credentials Committee so, she now joined with the other members of the OC, apart from Pavlovich, in asking the congress to invite Ryazanov. Pavlovich denounced before the congress the action of the OC majority, and the question arose of the OC's right to function at the congress as a group with its own discipline.

Pavlovich (Krasikov, 1870-1939) was a tough, determined man — to his enemies, 'a drunken brawler' — who gave steady support to Lenin throughout the congress. A lawyer by training, he became head of the Cheka in Petrograd, and under Stalin was a judge in the Court of Appeal.

### Fourth Session

<sup>1</sup> The Caucasian permitted to attend with consultative voice was Kostrov, i.e. Zhor-dania.

<sup>2</sup> The 5th Congress of the Bund was held in Zurich in June 1903.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Bund's own report of this congress, Martov's resolution was signed by 'twelve persons — all Jews'.

At the congress of the League Abroad in October 1903 Trotsky revealed that Lenin had sent him a note: 'Trotsky, would you take the floor *after* Martov for a *little* statement regarding the resolution which you have signed [on the Bund] and declare that the Jews who signed it are *also representatives* of the Jewish proletariat.' [*Protokoly Ligi*, p. 69: quoted by Getzler, *Martov*, p. 76, n. 76.)

### Fifth Session

<sup>1</sup> Karsky (Topuridze) and Rusov (Knunyants) were Georgian and Armenian, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> By 'Tatar', Rusov means here Azeri, the Turkic language spoken in Azerbaijan. It was common in Russia in those days to speak of the Moslem people of that country as 'the Tatars of Azerbaijan'.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Pale of Settlement'. In Tsarist Russia at this time Jews were not allowed to reside permanently outside an area in the South-West corresponding to the parts of Poland annexed in 1772 and after, plus some other territories in the Ukraine which were thinly-inhabited when annexed and needed colonisation.

<sup>4</sup> The Bund's pamphlet *On the Question of National Autonomy* was published in February 1902.

<sup>5</sup> The background to Orlov's remarks was that the Bund had been active originally in Lithuania (which in those days often meant Byelorussia as well as Lithuania proper) and had only later started to spread its activity into places further South, such as Yekaterinoslav (now Dniepropetrovsk), Odessa and Kiev.

<sup>6</sup> *Vorstand*. The leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party.

<sup>7</sup> Trotsky on the resolution of the 5th Congress of the Bund: 'Whereas previously, at least in theory, the Bund was the representative of the interests of the Social-Democratic Party among a section of the Jewish proletariat, it was now transformed into the representative of the interests of the Jewish proletariat before the Social-Democratic Party.' (*Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p. 10.)

### Sixth Session

<sup>1</sup> The Bund and the Zionists: A humorist once said that 'a Bundist is a Zionist who suffers from seasickness' — i.e., he doesn't want to sail away to Palestine, but instead wants to create a sort of Jewish state in Western and Southern Russia.

<sup>2</sup> The initials of *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*, by which the (nationalistic) Polish Socialist Party was commonly known.

<sup>3</sup> *Iskra* and the Armenian Social-Democrats: the allusion is presumably to Lenin's article (February 1903), 'On the Manifesto of the Armenian Social-Democrats', in *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 326-329.

<sup>4</sup> *Posledniye Izvestiya* was the bulletin of the Foreign Committee of the Bund. The affair of the shop-assistants was an incident in Odessa in early 1903 when *Iskra* reported that the Bund had formed an organisation there out of shop-assistants recruited from the Zionist milieu. The Bund organ denied that they were ex-Zionists.

<sup>5</sup> Lenin refers to the miners of Northumberland and Durham who, having in the 1880s obtained for themselves a six-hour working day, opposed, as threatening their position, the agitation for a law fixing the length of the working day at eight hours, which would have been a great gain for most of the British workers.

<sup>6</sup> 'My teachers whom I see-here.' One of the Bund's representatives, e.g., was A.I. Kremer ('Wolf'), the author of the pamphlet *On Agitation* which had played a very big part in the beginning of the Social-Democratic labour movement in Russia in the 1890s.

### Eighth Session

<sup>1</sup> The 'Hainfeld' programme of the Austrian Social-Democrats was adopted in 1889. It was replaced by the 'Vienna' programme in 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The *Société des Droits de l'Homme* was led by Barbès, the *Société des Saisons* by Blanqui. 'July' in the 'July revolt' is presumably a misprint for 'June', since it is the Paris insurrection of June 1848 that is obviously meant. The *Association pour la Défense de la Presse Patriote* existed in 1832-34, one of its leaders being Garnier-Pagès.

<sup>3</sup> Martynov says nothing about Marx's dramatic break with Weitling in 1846 ('Ignorance never yet did anybody any good!'), though it had been described in P. Annenkov's memoir published in Russia in 1880. See *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, no date, pp. 269-272.

<sup>4</sup> 'Beltov' was Plekhanov's pseudonym when he wrote *The Development of the Monist View of History* (1895).

<sup>5</sup> The allusion is to the wave of peasant revolts in Poltava, Kharkov, Voronezh and other provinces which began in the spring of 1902.

<sup>6</sup> *Arbeiterstimme* was the Bund's paper. *Osvobozhdenie* was an illegal liberal paper published in Stuttgart and Paris in 1902-1905, edited by the ex-Marxist P.B. Struve.

The group around it developed into the Constitutional-Democratic ('Cadet') Party. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party began in early 1902.

<sup>7</sup> 'The middleman system' presumably refers to the organisation of domestic industry, as described by Lenin in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 442). This was widespread in the 'Jewish' area of South-Western Russia, but, as Lyadov pointed out, it existed also outside that area.

#### *Ninth Session*

<sup>1</sup> Not long after this, Plekhanov wrote an article in *Iskra*, nos 70 and 71 (July 27 and August 1, 1904) in which he expounded what was substantially the line of Martynov's criticism of *What Is To Be Done?* For a French translation of this article, see the edition of *What Is To Be Done?* (*Que Faire?*) by J.-J. Marie, Paris, 1966, Appendix 6.

<sup>2</sup> In his 'Review of Home Affairs' in *Zarya*, December 1901, Lenin had discussed expressions of discontent with the Government's policy towards the Zemstvos which had been uttered by some Marshals of the Nobility, and ended the article thus: 'Taking our leave of the marshals of the nobility, we say, *Au revoir*, gentlemen, our allies of tomorrow!' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p.301). See also his 'Political Agitation and the "Class Point of View"', in *Iskra*, February 1902 (*ibid.*, pp.337-343).

<sup>3</sup> Lenin refers to this passage in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*: 'The Bonaparte dynasty represents not the revolutionary but the conservative peasant . . . It represents not the enlightenment but the superstition of the peasant; not his judgement, but his prejudice; not his future, but his past . . .'

<sup>4</sup> The passage referred to by Lenin comes in the *Address of the General Council . . . on the Civil War in France*, in which Marx writes: 'The Commune was perfectly right in telling the peasants that "its victory was their only hope".'

<sup>5</sup> *Erfüllungstheorie* — 'theory of filling': the theory that, as capitalism and the labour movement grow, the proletariat becomes automatically 'filled' with socialist consciousness.

<sup>6</sup> *Aushöhlungstheorie* — 'theory of emptying': the theory that class contradictions under capitalism are gradually reduced by successful trade-union struggle, co-operative societies, etc.

<sup>7</sup> In Russian the accusative form, for masculine personal objects, is the same as the genitive.

In Ryazanov's critique of the *Iskra* draft programme he had objected to the phrase: 'Crises and periods of industrial stagnation.' The Russian for 'and' is the single letter 'i'. (This was presumably the origin of one of Ryazanov's nicknames in the Party, *Bukvoyed*, meaning 'pedant'.)

<sup>8</sup> '. . . but, instead, he ate a siskin.' The allusion is to Saltykov-Shchedrin's story *Bears in Government*. A bear, appointed by the Lion, King of Beasts, to the post of Governor of the Forest, talks about putting down opposition by means of large-scale bloodshed. When he is lying in a drunken stupor, a siskin settles on him: this wakes him up and, thinking 'That's an oppositionist!' the bear grabs the little bird and swallows it. A blackbird who saw what happened tells the other creatures, and they all mock the bear. He becomes known as 'the siskin-eater', loses the Lion's confidence, and ends his days in obscurity.

<sup>9</sup> In the standard English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* the phrase about the lower middle class, the peasantry, etc., runs: 'If by chance they are revolutionary, they



are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.'

### *Tenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> The SDKPL had held its fourth congress at the beginning of July 1903. The resolution passed by this gathering was not known to the RSDLP Congress held soon afterward, nor was it made clear in the letter received by the congress from Warski (Warszawski). As a result of an invitation to attend with consultative voice, two Polish Social-Democrats came to the RSDLP congress and there revealed the conditions for unity proposed by the Polish congress. For the Polish background of all this see Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. I pp. 271-279. (He is also useful on relations between the Polish Social-Democrats and the German Social-Democrats, which were sometimes referred to at the RSDLP congress: see *Ibid.*, I, pp. 173-184, 259-261.)

<sup>2</sup> '... Comrade Plekhanov mentioned ... that the concept of two centres was contrary to mathematics. One of the comrades reminded him that our Party is headed by "two centres". "Then they should be called focuses", Comrade Plekhanov quickly replied. This quick-witted reply means much more than its author supposed. Of two focuses, if we have optics in mind, one is always *imaginary* ...' (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p.17.)

<sup>2</sup> The obscure provincial landowner Bobchinsky asked Khlestakov to be so good, when he returned to St Petersburg, as to tell all the members of high society whom he imagined Khlestakov knew, that he, Bobchinsky, 'exists'. In a later reference at the congress, Bobchinsky gets changed (perhaps by a secretary's mis-hearing) into his partner Dobchinsky.

### *Eleventh Session*

<sup>1</sup> The Mining Association delegate who was not accepted by the congress was E.G. Mankovskaya. The one originally elected who failed to arrive was M.S. Balabanov.

### *Thirteenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> The 13th session was the last to be held in Brussels. Zemlyachka ('Osipov') had been arrested and deported, and the congress decided to move to London, where they would not be harassed by the police. There was an interval of five days between the 13th session and the 14th, the first to meet in London.

### *Fifteenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> The congress was joined by two London-based Social-Democrats, who were given consultative voice — Takhtarev ('Strakhov') and his wife Yakubova ('Yuzhin').

<sup>2</sup> In a lamentable failure of 'security', the minutes allow Akimov to refer to 'Makhov' as 'Mitsov', which was another of Kalafati's pseudonyms. This has been corrected in the text of the present edition.

<sup>3</sup> The amendment substituting 'and sometimes also' for 'or even' — see Appendix

### *Sixteenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> *Revolutiae* is what appears in the minutes. It should be *revolutionis*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Chambre Introuvable* ('matchless Chamber') was the nickname of the National Assembly elected in France, under conditions of White Terror, in October 1815, which passed without opposition all the ultra-reactionary measures submitted to it.

<sup>3</sup> The Georgian nationalist organisation mentioned was actually called *Sakartvelo*, that being the Georgian name for the country the Russians call *Gruziya*, our 'Georgia'.

#### *Seventeenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the point of Martov's reply to Lieber was that 'demagogy' means literally 'leading the people' (i.e., up the garden path).

#### *Eighteenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> V.A. Posse was a journalist, editor of *Zhizn*.

<sup>2</sup> *Zemsky Sobor* ('Assembly of the Land') was the name of the 'parliament' of 16th century Russia, and was the term commonly used for the constituent assembly for which the Social-Democrats agitated.

<sup>3</sup> The two delegates who disagreed with each other about breast-feeding, etc., were Yegorov and Posadovsky.

#### *Nineteenth Session*

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Lenin's 'Reply to Criticism of Our Draft Programme' (by 'X', i.e. P.P. Maslov), June 1903, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 438-453.

<sup>2</sup> Kostrov (Zhordania) speaks here about Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> Plekhanov refers to the German Social-Democrat Eduard David, whose book on *Socialism and Agriculture* had appeared in February 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Kautsky's book on the agrarian question had appeared in 1899. Lenin gave some lectures on the agrarian question at the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences, in Paris, in February 1903: see *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 337-347.

<sup>5</sup> See Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7 (1977), p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> Actually, at their 'Third' Congress, in 1905, the Bolsheviks did decide in favour of calling for the confiscation of *all* landlords' estates.

<sup>7</sup> A.N. Engelhardt's *Letters from the Countryside* described survivals of serfdom in the 1870s: see Lenin, 'The Heritage We Renounce', in *Collected Works*, Vol. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* was the paper of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

#### *Twentieth Session*

<sup>1</sup> S. Nechetny's article on the situation of the Russian peasantry appeared in No. 2 of the journal mentioned, which was a publication of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Trotsky refers to the Russian peasants' folklore utopias — their 'Land of Cockayne'.

<sup>3</sup> In his reference to Ireland Lenin has in mind the agrarian reforms (Land Acts) of 1881-1903 to which Trotsky attributed such importance in his article about the Easter Rising of 1916 (*Trotsky's Writings On Britain*, Vol. III, p. 168).

<sup>4</sup> 'New Russia' was the region around Odessa, the provinces of Kherson and Bes-sarabia: Trotsky's birthplace was in this part of the country.

<sup>5</sup> The Falz-Feins were big landowners in Taurida, one of the regions in South Russia 'opened up' after the abolition of serfdom, and are taken here as examples of capitalist landownership free from 'survivals of serfdom'.

<sup>6</sup> Borzhomi is in Georgia.

<sup>7</sup> For Lenin's later criticism of the agrarian part of the 1903 Party Programme, see *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 256-258.

### *Twenty-first Session*

<sup>1</sup> The 'Siberian post-servants' were peasants who held their land, as settlers in Siberia, on condition that they maintained the government's postal service, providing horses and drivers for the conveyance of the mail. *Yamshchik* comes from *yam*, a Turkic word for a post-station, where horses can be changed.

*Chinsheviki* were payers of a form of quit-rent peculiar to the former Polish territories in Western Russia (Lithuania, Byelorussia, S.W. Ukraine).

<sup>2</sup> There was indeed no serfdom in Latvia (i.e., Courland and S. Livonia), since the land was worked by landless labourers: but these were subjected to an exceptionally oppressive regime by the landlords (the 'Baltic Barons', of German origin), like that prevailing on the Junker estates in Eastern Germany, and the conditions there were hardly 'modern' in the sense of agrarian relations in the USA (cf. Lenin on the differences between the 'Prussian' and the 'American' paths to capitalism in agriculture).

<sup>3</sup> A *conseil de prud'hommes* is an arbitration board made up of persons possessing experience and expert knowledge in a particular trade, formed to settle disputes between parties engaged in this trade.

The 'industrial tribunals' in Ireland mentioned by Lenin are evidently the Congested Districts Board and other institutions set up under the Land Acts of this period to ensure 'fair rents'.

<sup>4</sup> S.F. Sharapov was a journalist of 'Neo-Slavophil' outlook who voiced the views of the most reactionary section of the landlords, attacking the policy of the Tsarist government as 'liberal'.

<sup>5</sup> This presumably refers to V.V. Yevreinov, a Socialist-Revolutionary. See Lenin, 'The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907', in *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 376-378.

<sup>6</sup> *Verelendungstheorie*. The German word *Elend*, from which this is formed, can mean 'misery', and not just 'poverty'. The distinction is an important one in this connection (Marx: 'whether the worker's pay be high or low', etc.). The Russian expression used by Akimov does not allow for it.

<sup>7</sup> Re-translated from Russian, Plekhanov's version of the passage in the *Communist Manifesto* reads: 'If they have revolutionary significance, it is only to the extent that (or: in so far as) they are faced with joining the ranks of the proletariat, to the extent that (or: in so far as) they defend not their present but their future interests, to the extent (or: in so far as) they abandon their own point of view and take up the point of view of the proletariat.' For the standard English version of the passage, see note 9 to the Ninth Session.

*Twenty-second Session*

<sup>1</sup> 'Demonstrating to the Congress the significance of the CC, Comrade Lenin showed his fist (I am not speaking metaphorically) as the "political" symbol of the CC.' (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p.28.)

*Twenty-third Session*

<sup>1</sup> 'The proletariat, that same proletariat of which you said yesterday that it "spontaneously tends towards trade-unionism", is now called upon to give lessons in *political* discipline! And to whom? To that same intelligentsia to whom was assigned, under yesterday's schema, the role of bringing proletarian political consciousness to the proletariat from outside!' (Trotsky, *Our Political Tasks*.)

*Twenty-fourth Session*

<sup>1</sup> 'The theory of accumulation.' It seems probable that there is a misprint, or a mis-hearing, here — *napolneniya* being rendered as *nakopleniya*. Martynov is doubtless referring to the so-called *Erfüllungstheorie* ('theory of filling up'). See note 5 to Ninth Session.

*Twenty-fifth Session*

<sup>1</sup> 'According to Comrade Lenin's plan, the congress elects the Council from the membership of the central organ's editorial board and the Central Committee — not less than two persons from each of these institutions. In other words, the congress elects three members from the editorial board and two from the Central Committee. (Nobody understood this any other way, and Comrade Pavlovich, a member of the Bureau, openly testified to having *this* attitude to the composition of the Council, at one of the sessions of the congress, as may be seen from the minutes'.) (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p. 17.) See notes 3 and 4 to Thirty-Second Session.

<sup>2</sup> The first resolution was moved by Martov and Glebov, the second by Lenin and Popov, and the third by Yegorov.

*Twenty-sixth Session*

<sup>1</sup> The passage about 'following Party publications' evidently occurred in Lenin's explanation of what the editorial board's tasks would include.

<sup>2</sup> The 'schismatics' (*raskolniki*) referred to by Deutsch were presumably Old Believers, who had, as persecuted religious dissenters, grievances against the government which might cause them to wish to contact *Narodnaya Volya*.

<sup>3</sup> L. Nadezhdin (E.O. Zelensky) was the author of a pamphlet, published by *Svoboda*, which is referred to by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*, Section V.

*Twenty-seventh Session*

<sup>1</sup> 'The tutelage of the editorial board over the composition of the Central Committee was . . . to be one of the guarantees of the "moral solidarity" of the two bodies, or, to speak more plainly, of the personal dependence of the Central Committee upon the editorial board. Comrade Lenin found another guarantee in the requirement of *unanimity* for co-optation of new members to the Central Committee. It would be enough to

install one 'reliable' man in the CC for him to be able to lay his veto upon any person possessing the vice of *personal initiative and independence*. On this point Comrade Lenin expressed at the congress two directly opposite views. First, in favour of a 'qualified majority' (two-thirds or three-quarters) and against 'unanimity': then, a few days later, in favour of 'unanimity' and against a 'qualified majority'. This change of view undoubtedly occurred under the influence of the fact that some practical worker-comrades, in whom Lenin could not but see imminent candidates for the CC, had taken up a sharply negative attitude to the use which Lenin had decided to make of the 'Iskrist' mood of the congress. The entry of these comrades into the CC, in the given situation, would inevitably have meant a fight for the independence of this imaginary 'focus'. The power of the Council might, under such conditions, prove to be quite illusory. Against those candidates to the CC was brought up the double battery of "mutual co-option" and "unanimity". (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p.19.)

<sup>2</sup> Lenin's report on the Bund's withdrawal, made in October 1903 to the League Congress:

'I cannot understand why the Bund should have withdrawn, things being as they were. They were actually the masters of the situation, and could have had a lot their own way. Most probably, they had binding instructions.' — *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p.81.

'Not a single person has any doubt that, if the Bund had not withdrawn, Martov would have beaten us over the central bodies.' — Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p.161.

### *Twenty-eighth Session*

<sup>1</sup> The Northern Association covered Vladimir, Yaroslavl and Kostroma provinces, and included the important textile area of Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

### *Twenty-ninth Session*

<sup>1</sup> *Borba Proletariata* is better known to history under the title of its Georgian edition, *Brdzola*.

### *Thirtieth Session*

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that the '*Lenin*' at the beginning of this line is unnecessary, as Lenin seems to have taken the chair at this session — or, rather, at the beginning of it.

<sup>2</sup> Gusev (Drabkin) in his memoir of the 2nd Congress in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, no. 77-78, 1928, says that the moment of the open split between Lenin and Martov came at this time, in the 30th session, when Lenin, as Chairman, refused to accept Martov's resolution to postpone discussion of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* question. 'Vigorously protesting,' he says, puts Martov's reaction too mildly — in fact, he was hysterical with anger.

### *Thirty-first Session*

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the piece of paper produced by Lenin on this occasion, see Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, 2nd edition, p. 53, note 1.

*Thirty-second Session*

<sup>1</sup> The *Iskra* organisation in Russia, which was to have sent two delegates to the congress, failed to send anyone. It was agreed that Martov should act as the *Iskra* delegate with two mandates. This left Lenin as the only representative of the League of Social-Democrats Abroad. (Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, pp. 74-75.)

<sup>2</sup> The other two elected to the CC, besides Glebov (Noskov), were Krzhizhanovsky and Lenznik.

<sup>3</sup> 'It remained for us to elect the "fifth" member of the Council. The question was put: would the name of the person elected be announced? The delegate N., one of the majority, proposed that it be announced, since the fifth member of the Council would, of course, be "abroad". "So, then, it's already been decided?" asked one of the minority.' (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p. 24.)

<sup>4</sup> 'The CC created by the Second Congress is nothing but an agency at the disposal of the Council, which in turn is merely the second hypostasis of the editorial board.' (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p. 28.) Trotsky uses here a theological term: the Holy Trinity — 'One God in Three Persons' — consists of these *hypostases*, namely, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

<sup>5</sup> Plekhanov was elected as fifth member of the Party Council.

<sup>6</sup> An atmosphere of extreme tension between the 'majority' and the 'minority' developed during the 31st and 32nd sessions. Shotman ('Gorsky' at the congress) recalls in his memoir of the congress in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, no. 77-78, 1928, that he had to be restrained from beating up another delegate. Krupskaya writes (1930 edition of the English translation of her memories of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 104): 'The struggle became exceedingly acute during the elections. A couple of scenes just before the voting remain in my memory. Axelrod was reproaching Bauman ('Sorokin') for what seemed to him a lack of moral sense, and recalled some unpleasant gossip from exile days. Bauman remained silent, and tears came into his eyes. [Bauman had behaved towards a woman comrade rather as Aveling treated Eleanor Marx, and she too, killed herself. — B.P.] Another scene I remember. Deutsch was reprimanding "Glebov" (Noskov) about something. The latter raised his head, and with gleaming eyes said bitterly: 'You just keep your mouth shut, you old dodderer!''

*Thirty-Seventh Session*

<sup>1</sup> 'At the end of the congress, on the very last day of its proceedings, some delegates of the majority were already behaving without the proper "firmness". This explains why, at the last session, when the resolutions on tactics were adopted in haste, *the minority already proved to be the majority*. We passed a number of resolutions (by Comrades Akselrod, Martov and Starover), some of them against the opposition of the "majority". We introduced radical amendments into the resolutions of Comrades Lenin and Plekhanov, in spite of their resistance. We put two members of the "minority" into the three-man commission (responsible neither to the central organ nor to the CC) for publishing the minutes.' (Trotsky, *Report of the Siberian Delegation*, p. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The events in Odessa.' July 1903 saw a wave of strikes in the Ukraine and Transcaucasia (cf. a reference elsewhere to the strike in Batum). In Odessa a prominent part was played in the struggle by workers organised in the 'Zubatovist' trade union. This turn of events led to the authorities becoming disenchanted with Zubatov's 'police-controlled' trade unions, and Zubatov himself was 'transferred to other work'.

*Appendix I*

<sup>1</sup> The Geneva conference, June 1901, brought together the foreign department of the *Iskra-Zarya* organisation, the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation (which included the 'Emancipation of Labour' group), the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, the Bund, and the *Borba* group. It was a preliminary meeting for the 'unity' conference held in Zurich in October 1901, which, however, came to nothing.

<sup>2</sup> The 'member of the Foreign Bureau of the Organising Committee' whose name is left blank was Altman.

*Appendix IX*

<sup>1</sup> The Articles in *Iskra* referred to by the Poles, which appeared in the issues of July 15, 1903 and February 1, 1903, respectively, are given in Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6. The passages quoted will be found on pp. 460, 328 and 329.

*Appendix XI*

<sup>1</sup> As Lenin points out in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, Item 9, The Party Rules, Martov's Draft (*Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p.245n.), the document given here is *not* the text which he actually proposed. That document has, apparently, not been preserved. The important differences are that, in his *final* version, at any rate, (1) the Party Council is defined not as a mere arbitration board but as the Party's highest organ, and (2) the requirement of unanimity and mutual control as regards co-option is laid down for the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ.

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